The
World Tomorrow

DECEMBER, 1930

The Peace Breakers
by Robert Whitaker

Wall Street and Hollywood Boulevard
by Chester S. Williams

Man in a Mechanical Age
by Reinhold Niebuhr

What War Does to the Minds of Children
by S. Ralph Harlow

The Fight for Peace
A Book Review by Harry Elmer Barnes

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VOL. XIII DECEMBER, 1930 No. 12

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The World Tomorrow

A Journal Looking Toward a Social Order Based on the Religion of Jesus

Vol. XIII December, 1930 No. 12

Editorials

The Irresistible Tide

The amazing unity revealed by the Indian delegates at the Round Table Conference spells doom for the British in India. Potentate and scavenger, Brahman and Mohammedan, the Begum Shah Nawaz and the Aga Khan—all demanded self-government. Conservative British opinion is stunned. The divided condition of India has long been advanced as proof of the necessity for continued British administration. The assertion has often been made that the Princes are opposed to autonomy for British India, that the Moslems prefer to remain under British rule, that the untouchables are antagonistic to the nationalist movement, and that the caste system makes impossible representative government in India. When Gandhi and his colleagues refused to attend the conference, the assumption was general that the moderate and right wing delegates from India would be pro-British and would gratefully accept the offer of a limited advance toward Dominion Status. Gandhi's demand for "the substance of independence" was widely regarded as being the desire of a negligible minority.

Yet the Indian delegates have thus far stood shoulder to shoulder in opposing the continuance of British rule. Maulana Muhammad Ali, who even in recent days has relentlessly condemned Mahatma Gandhi's tactics, demanded autonomy for India and warned of the peril of delay. Pleading for a Burke to prevent another disastrous separation, he cried out: "George III lost America. Let history record that George V won India." The Brahman, Dr. B. S. Moonje, declared that he and his high-caste colleagues were committed to equal political rights for untouchables. Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar, member of the scavenger class of outcastes and a former student at Columbia University, expressed the conviction that the evils of the caste system could be remedied more quickly under self-government. After admitting that the British had done some good, he went on to say: "So far as we (outcastes) are concerned, the British Government has accepted the social arrangements as it found them. Our wrongs have remained as open sores and have not been righted, although 150 years of British rule have rolled away. . . . We feel that nobody can remove our grievances as well as we can, and we cannot remove them unless we get the political power in our own hands."

Students of nationalism should not be surprised at this display of unity in London. Nationalism is undoubtedly the most unifying force in the modern world. Especially in times of crisis it creates such powerful emotions that citizens of a given country at least temporarily bury their own differences in expressing a common antagonism to an alien foe. The analogy of the husband and wife who were engaged in a violent combat, yet who made common cause against the outsider who tried to separate them, is illuminating. Various factions in India have fought in the past and may fly at each other's throats in the future, and even at the conference tragic differences are certain to be revealed; but until the British yoke is thrown off, all sections of India are likely to become more and more united in purpose and endeavor.

The most powerful influence at the Round Table Conference is not being exerted by any of the delegates seated at the table but by a frail prisoner in Yerovda jail. So generally is this fact admitted that the Aga Khan, chairman of the British India delegation in London, has urged the British Government to promise the framework of self-government and bring the Mahatma to England to coöperate in working out the details.

The chief address of Ramsay MacDonald was disappointing primarily because it was vague and indefinite. The encouraging aspect is that the Prime Minister talked frankly of autonomy and did not close the door in the face of the demand for Dominion Status without delay. It may be that he will yet adopt the bold and generous policy of offering "the substance of independence" and run the risk of losing office. Perhaps it is not realistic to expect a stateman to relinquish the power of high office, but surely defeat in a noble cause is a worthier fate than to adopt a policy of increasing repression and violence in the futile attempt to hold back the irresistible tide of Indian nationalism.

The Old Imperialism Is Crumbling

Recent events in China make it unmistakably clear that foreign control is doomed. Armed intervention throughout most of the country has already been abandoned by foreign powers in spite of widespread lawlessness and banditry. The spirit of nationalism is growing so rapidly in China that foreign intervention intensifies antagonism and therefore increases the degree of peril to the lives and property of aliens. Except in a few port cities, the protection of foreigners by the armed force of alien governments is now absolutely impossible.

The necessity of adopting a new policy in China is rapidly being recognized by other nations. Japan is abandoning threats and coercion in favor of an attempt to win the friendship and trade of China. The British Government within recent months has taken four important steps: the return of Weihaiwei, the return of the Amoy concession, the return of the British share of the Boxer indemnity, and the continuance of negotiations with respect to the abolition of extraterritoriality. While the latter negotiations are likely to be prolonged for some years before a final decision is reached, nothing seems more probable than that China, within a decade or two, will follow the example of Japan and Turkey in throwing off the political control of foreign powers. It is reported that some forty million dollars of the British Boxer refund will be used for new railway construction in China. Interesting and significant! Improved transportation will hasten the unification of China—and unification will make inevitable the overthrow of foreign domination. Nationalism is destined to supplant imperialism in the Far East.

A Discouraging Election

No intelligent citizen can gain much comfort from the mid-term elections. The victory of a man like George Norris is gratifying, and one may find a measure of satisfaction in the election of such liberals as Senator Costigan of Colorado. But on the whole the significant fact is that the American people, in the doldrums of economic depression, did not have the political intelligence to turn from the old parties and initiate a new political movement. While Socialist candidates for Congress in New York and elsewhere increased their votes to a remarkable degree, they all fell short of election. The people contented themselves with the substitution of Democrats for Republicans in spite of the obvious fact that there is no difference between them.

In many states the Democrats are becoming the acknowledged wet party, and their victory seems to be due to the rising tide of wet sentiment. It is difficult to see how any intelligent person, no matter what his prohibition sentiments, can find much satisfaction in the Democratic victory even if interpreted in terms of prohibition rather than economic issues. Most of the local wet victories were gained by wet candidates who promised absolute repeal and revealed no understanding of the problem of conserving what is best in the prohibition cause. They contented themselves merely with exploitation of wet hysteria and failed, practically without exception, to offer a statesmanlike alternative to present policies.

In New York the tremendous plurality rolled up by Governor Roosevelt, in spite of Tammany scandals, has projected his figure on the national horizon as the logical Presidential candidate of the Democratic Party in 1932. While from the perspective of an economic liberal Roosevelt is probably preferable to Hoover, it is difficult to see how a President, organically related to Tammany on the one hand and the Southern bourbons on the other, can really offer the nation any substantial alternative to its present politics. Every indication points to another national election dominated by the prohibition issue, and relegating important social and economic problems to the background. That is one of the most serious aspects of our present situation.

The task of re-organizing our political life is more pressing than ever, and those who are engaged in it must continue their energies after this election with nothing to support them but the knowledge that it will require intense labor and sacrifice to raise the American people from political puerility to maturity.

Courtesy N. Y. Telegram

THE SPIRIT OF 1930

Brazil Follows Suit

The significance of any revolution lies in its program. Importance attaches not so much to what is overturned, but what is to be put in its place. A real revolution is concerned with creating *res novae*—new things. That is why the Russian revolution is of the greatest significance, aside from the huge area of the country. That is also the reason the so-called revolution in Brazil is of little importance, despite the vastness of the state.

Latin-American upheavals generally—with the important exception of Mexico—however frequently they may occur, have little meaning. They are mostly the attempt of the outs to become the ins, merely the supplanting of one governing and exploiting group by another. Such alteration of control takes place in all countries. The difference is that in other countries the change is accomplished by orderly political means, while Latin-America still resorts to overthrow by force of arms.

The troubles of the ruling group in Brazil arose from the same circumstances as the disaster which overtook the Republican party in our recent elections: economic depression. Brazil has been controlled largely by the coffee producers of the State of Sao Paulo, so much so that coffee dominated the economic life of the country. Other interests began to develop, seeking government favors for themselves. Not being able to wrest them from the coffee aristocracy, they constituted a political opposition. Then came the depression. The bottom dropped out of the coffee market. Enormous government efforts were made to bolster the product on the world market, efforts which resulted as disastrously as that of our Farm Board. In this situation the political opposition rebelled and swept the government out of office. Nothing has been changed, no significant social or economic program has been proclaimed. The Indians, the Negroes, and the rest remain serfs as before. One governing clique has merely supplanted another under the pressure of hard times.

Our State Department did not cover itself with laurels during the disturbances. Secretary Stimson proved himself as ill-advised and ill-informed as during the Russo-Chinese dispute. American capital has invested $575,000,000 in Brazil, mostly in public bonds. Much of this was reckless investment and one can only hope that the government will not send marines to collect it as it did in Haiti. As for Brazil, it is scarcely benefited by its turmoil. It was not a revolution bringing "new things," but merely a violent overthrow of government. It is another case of "the more it changes, the more it is the same."

The Betrayal in Palestine

A forthcoming volume by two prominent Zionists is entitled *The Great Betrayal.* We hope that this book will summarize the various wartime promises which have not been observed. There was, for example, the pledges made to Italy in the secret treaty of 1915 by which she was assured vast territories which were never delivered. The other Allies told Russia she could have Constantinople and the Straits. Shantung, the valuable Chinese province, was casually offered to Japan. The repudiation of President Wilson's promise that the territorial integrity of Austria-Hungary would be respected is revealed in the present mutilated condition of that ancient empire. "The Great Betrayal," however, may be found in the repudiation of the Fourteen Points in the Treaty of Versailles, although the Allied and Associated Powers in the Armistice terms solemnly pledged themselves to make peace on a basis of these Fourteen Points.

Wartime promises were also made to the Arabs and to the Jews. In return for promises of Arab autonomy, prominent Arab leaders enlisted their people in the war against Turkey and their fellow Mohammedans. The assertion is frequently made that these promises were vague and that the Arabs read into them more than the Allies really meant to pledge. The fact is that Great Britain in order to win the war made contradictory pledges to Arabs and Jews and encouraged both groups to make their own interpretations.

The Balfour Declaration itself is vague phraseology and subject to contradictory interpretations. Just what is meant by a Jewish National Home in Palestine? What is the meaning of the phrase, "it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine"? It is highly important to notice that the Balfour Declaration does not promise the creation of a Jewish *political state.* Mr. Balfour refused to adopt the language urged upon him by Zionist leaders. The document does *not* read, as the Zionists insisted that it should, "The reconstruction of Palestine as a National Home for the Jews."

Many unwarranted and contradictory promises were made during the war by the belligerents. By what right did the Allies promise Turkish Constantinople to Russia? Why should Great Britain give to the Jews territory which was not her property and which had been occupied by Arabs continuously for the last 1,300 years and in which Arabs constituted three-fourths of the population? The present Labor Government inherited a situation which it did not create and for which there are no adequate solutions. The position of THE WORLD TOMORROW with regard to Palestine may be summarized briefly: The Arab people are entitled to a dominant position in the political control of Palestine; the Jewish people are entitled to a cul-

tural and spiritual home in Palestine; the Mandatory Power should, therefore, proceed to establish representative government in Palestine and furnish guarantees to the Jews on the following points: security of life and property; freedom of religion, education, press and speech; reasonable access to the land; reasonable immigration.

If the Jewish people are to build a national cultural and religious home in Palestine, they must abandon the policy of attempting to control the political government of Palestine. The Arabs will not be dispossessed without offering violent resistance. "A Zionist program," writes Hugo Bergmann, professor of philosophy at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, "that holds fast to the principle of a Jewish majority in Palestine leaves open only the way to war." A spiritual home cannot be built on a battlefield or in an armed barracks.

Ineffective Peace Organizations

Recently we heard a secretary of one of our large peace organizations ask a speaker on Russia how he could explain the fact that the Soviet Government was wealthy enough to purchase millions of dollars worth of machinery abroad while its own people were on the verge of starvation. The question was put with considerable emotion, and the questioner seemed to expect the speaker to answer with an admission that only diabolical perversity could account for the course of the Russians. Since almost every school child knows by this time that the Russians are living on short rations precisely because they are importing millions of dollars worth of machinery and are under the necessity, lacking credit as they do, to pay for the machinery by the export of food, we were somewhat depressed by the incident. The relations between Russia and the rest of the world constitute the major international problem of the coming decades. If peace organizations can not furnish intelligent guidance in the problem of reducing to a decent minimum the inevitable friction resulting from the growth of Russian commerce and industry, there can be no hope of peace for us.

Perhaps the incident is another proof for the thesis that it is impossible to endow ideas and ideals and maintain their vitality. Endowed institutions may function fairly well; but endowed propaganda for any cause loses its vitality. Endowed peace organizations tend (with a few worthy exceptions, of course) to feed an army of officials in whom secretarial preoccupations have destroyed or at least supplanted any vital enthusiasm for the cause they are expected to represent. If they turn to scholarly and historical pursuits, their contributions to the peace cause may still be considerable. But it is vain to expect from them any vigorous support of a real peace strategy. While international peace is seriously menaced by the German fascist reaction to reparation burdens, our endowed peace organizations are still congratulating themselves and us on the Kellogg Pact. Nor have we any word from them which will help the American people see their responsibility for the peril to peace in the present international debt settlement.

A Big Business Man's Day

We have never been ushered into his august presence, and our knowledge of the routine which goes on behind the majestic portals of his private sanctum is therefore dependent upon our imagination; but from what we have been reading in the papers we think the big business man is spending his average day about as follows:

10 A. M. Arrives at the office and dictates a statement to his secretary, explaining to the general public that the roots of the present financial depression are largely psychological and that prosperity, though crushed to earth, is just about to rise again.

11:00. Dictates a circular to all the executives and sub-executives in his company saying in part: In this critical hour we must redouble our efforts. We can stay out of the red this year only if every department head practices every possible economy. This is no time for drones. If you do not get the fullest cooperation from your personnel, you are empowered to take drastic action.

11:30. Conference with the general sales manager for the purpose of deciding which of the salesmen can best be laid off.

11:45. Conference with the production manager to consider production schedules and determine how many men can be safely employed in the coming month.

12:30. Luncheon meeting of the unemployment committee which the governor of his state has organized. The committee decides that everything possible should be done for unemployment, but that the vicious propaganda for the dole system must be checked, since doles corrupt the morals of workingmen. Someone suggests staggered employment as a way out.

2:30. Calls in his chief executives and requests them to work out a plan of staggered employment. "Let's be fair," he declares with some grandiloquence, "and shift this burden upon all rather than a few." *All* seems to have a qualified meaning for no one suggests that the executives be included in the general plan of shifting the burden.

3:00. Calls up his broker to give instructions regarding a short-selling operation on a stock which, he has received a tip, will hit a new low level next week.

3:30. Closes the day's work for a round of golf at the club. Argues with his partner that the shorter work day is no solution for the problem since too

much leisure will hurt the morale of the workingmen.

7:30. Dickers with a friend over dinner at the club about a piece of real estate which he refuses to sell outright but offers on a mortgage so that his profits will not be counted in this year's income tax.

11:00. Complains to his wife about the difficulties and trials which he faces in trying to solve the problem of unemployment. Goes to bed with a sense of martyrdom upon him.

The Prohibition Problem

THE WORLD TOMORROW finds itself in a serious quandary with regard to the prohibition issue. It has long regarded the liquor traffic as one of the world's major evils and has therefore supported the movement for its abolition. It is distressed to see the flouting of the Eighteenth Amendment by so many citizens and to note the breakdown of enforcement morale. The existing situation is wholly unsatisfactory. Yet THE WORLD TOMORROW is unable to find promise in any of the alternatives now being offered by eager wets or disappointed drys as solutions for the present difficulty. By way of honest confession, its editors put their perplexities in a series of questions, with the hope that readers will illumine the editorial darkness:

1. What evidence is there that the repeal or modification of the existing law would eliminate or reduce the terrific havoc wrought by liquor?

2. How is Dwight Morrow's program of state control a solution for the problem when the real conflict is between urban and rural sections? Would state control be effective in Chicago if Illinois voted dry, or in Cincinnati if Ohio followed that course?

3. What do the increasing number of candidates who try to catch votes by insisting on straight repeal envisage when a people among whom habits of self-control have broken down are also emancipated of whatever restraining force still exists in government control?

4. The drys everywhere attribute the breakdown of enforcement to the cowardice and venality of officials, and cry for honest enforcement. Do not officials, by and large and taken over a period of years, represent the public mind somewhat accurately and is not therefore the breakdown of enforcement a proof of the general loss of support for the measure?

5. If we grant that the opposition to prohibition comes from a vociferous minority, is it not a fact that this minority is a real majority in many sections of the country, particularly in the large cities, a majority which fashions its own public opinion and is able to defy what might be regarded as the "general will" in this matter?

6. Do the drys honestly believe that they can weather the present storm by insisting that prohibition is like every other law in that its violation does not justify its abolition? Do they not recognize that legal punishment has fairly little to do with the maintenance of standards and that any standard which is violated by large numbers of socially approved peoples is in a different category from a law which meets opposition from only recognized anti-social minorities?

7. Ought the Christian churches honestly face the question whether they are not trying to maintain a standard by political coercion which they are as a matter of fact not maintaining in their own ranks by moral suasion?

8. Should there be some effort on the part of proponents and opponents of the prohibition amendment who are not completely engulfed in the hysteria of conflict on both sides to study the situation from the standpoint of the social values involved in the prohibition issue with the hope that conference and sober judgment may discover some solution which the heat of conflict will never yield?

Southern Women Speak Out

Lynching was vigorously condemned in a recent statement by twenty-one prominent women of the South. Emphasis was placed upon the fact "that every citizen who condones it, even by his silence, must accept a share of its guilt." *The Atlanta Constitution*, a leading daily newspaper, assailed the cowardice of certain officials in these burning words: "No Governor with a backbone stronger than an eel's and a heart with more courage than a rabbit's should let his constituents believe for a minute that he will allow lynchers to escape detection and prosecution to the last limit of a sovereign state's power. There is scant doubt that a stern proclamation to that effect by a Governor of a State would put the fear of God and the State into the craven hearts of most would-be mobbers. It is the idea that their acts will be condoned by the authorities that inspires such bloodthirsty spirits. A civilized public should back this demand from a commendable source that lynching be made the most dangerous form of law-breaking."

Such statements as these serve to illumine the otherwise dark picture of race relations in the South. In 1929 the nation was congratulating itself upon a greatly reduced lynching record, but the jubilation was short lived. During the first six months of 1930 the number of mob murders had more than doubled that of the previous year, and in at least one state—Alabama—new lynchings occurred where for a long period there had been no blot on the escutcheon. However trite the statement that no nation rises higher than the level of its womanhood, there is in it an indisputable measure of truth. Until Southern women repudiate the mistaken code which condones lynching, until they take a firm stand in behalf of justice and order and civilized processes of law, their states will continue to be disgraceful examples of a surviving barbarism.

What War Does to the Minds of Children

S. RALPH HARLOW

IN a course at Smith College, in which we discuss international and race relations, I asked some two hundred students to write a statement covering their childhood memories of the World War. Answers were required for such questions as the following: What did you believe the cause of the war to be? What actual experience of the war did you have yourself? What was your attitude toward Germans and things German? What are the outstanding memories of those years of war?

The students, whose papers I propose to deal with in this article, ranged from six to thirteen years of age when the war broke out, and from ten to seventeen when the Versailles Treaty was signed. It is no longer possible to obtain from students in college any accurate or reliable memories of the war days; hence the value of securing data during these past seven years. This material causes one to pause, if he is interested in developing in the child-mind habits of thought which will make for clear and generous and unselfish thinking.

These papers were written the first week the class met, before the students had had time to become influenced by discussions or by their outside reading on the war and its causes. They were asked to recall as clearly as possible their childhood reactions and emotions. Many of these papers would be worth publishing in full. Only a brief summary and a few quotations can be given within the limits of this article.

Two dominant traits appear in practically all of the two hundred papers: first, an intense and growing hatred of the enemy; second, highly emotional moments in which a desire to share in the "glory" was uppermost in the child-mind. There is, with these American children far removed from the scenes of carnage, an almost complete lack of knowledge of the horrors of the battlefield, though there is considerable reaction to the "atrocity stories" concerning the Germans. There is an utter and unquestioned acceptance that America was right and the enemy wholly wrong. A few quotations will reveal what was in the child-mind better than any comments. Let me state emphatically that these are typical quotations and in no way exceptional.

Conceptions of the Enemy

"I HAD visions of millions and millions of giant ogres, with stiff blond beards and pointed teeth and spiked helmets, dragging women by the hair, leaving rack and ruin, and rows on rows of bloody corpses. Were these healthy pictures to be painted on the mind of a seven-year-old child? At school we used to wonder and argue as to whether these beasts would cross the ocean and invade America. The timid would shiver, but the bold among us would make grand gestures of bravado, promising to chop off the heads of all huns who ventured within a mile of them." . . . "We hated the Germans with an intensity that is hard to realize in a child. I remember breaking into bits a lovely china doll, the most beautiful in my doll family, because I read on the back 'Made in Germany'." This incident is related again and again. Here, for example, is the daughter of one of America's outstanding religious leaders: "One day I discovered to my dismay those fatal words 'Made in Germany' on the back of my most beloved doll. I flew into a sudden passion, threw my doll on the floor, and jumped up and down on it till the doll was smashed into a thousand bits."

The following quotation is typical, the young woman coming from a home of unusual culture. The family is conservative, belonging to the Presbyterian church. "I was just past seven when the war broke out. My clearest memory is of the hatred of Germans which increased in my father and mother as time went by. The war propaganda was undoubtedly responsible for this, and we listened to terrible tales of German atrocities. Mother would not buy me a toy at Schwartz's marvelous toy shop because it had a German name. This feeling was very contagious, and soon I hated as much as anybody. I was told that the German officers cut off the hands of all the babies when they entered a Belgian or French town." A similar attitude, roused by atrocity stories, appears in nine out of ten papers. The granddaughter of America's most famous evangelist, and herself the daughter of a Christian leader, writes: "My hatred was kindled to the highest pitch. I hated the Germans and amused myself by thinking up the worst tortures for them; I hated Wilson for keeping us out of the war and hated myself though less keenly for being too young to take a 'spectacular' part. Rolling bandages and knitting socks were stupid occupations when the world was so excited."

There is marked indication that mothers more than fathers spread the contagion of hatred. "From the very beginning mother hated the Germans and would not permit anything 'Made in Germany' to remain in the house. I remember how daddy used to get provoked at her for being so vehement on that subject." Only two out of two hundred record the experience of having a mother who deplored the hatred against the Germans as a whole.

HAND in hand with hatred went an intolerance that it is difficult to appreciate in these years of reconciliation. There are scores of reports of German children being tormented, driven from the school and the neighborhood; of German teachers being dropped, and German nurses sent away after years of faithful service. Often these were second and third generation Germans whose fathers and grandfathers fled to America, seeking to escape the growing militarism in the fatherland. It made no difference; a German name was sufficient to make one a leper and an outcast in most American communities.

Some of my students belonged to this persecuted class and their memories are poignant. Here is one: "It became intolerable even to have anything remotely German about your name. There could have been no family more American than ours, but we bore a German name. How I suffered! There grew up around me a wall of prejudice and criticism. I was continually asked, 'Was your grandfather born in Germany?' And my truthfully affirmative reply damned me, judging from the black looks and whispers which always followed. It was useless to try to explain anything to my tormentors. They were not in a reasoning state of mind in those days and would not have believed me if I had tried to tell them of our loyalty. I became an alien and my suffering, to my childish mind, was unbearable. Even the teachers 'picked on me' in school and I was shoved to the end of the line by my schoolmates, no 'American' being willing to walk behind me. Worst of all I could not understand why I should be so treated. These experiences made me shy and sensitive, and a very bad self-depreciation resulted that brought on an unhappiness from which I have suffered for the past six years. Thus were prejudice, blind hate and ridicule, strong forces in any war and rabid in this one, brought home to me, a child of eight. If one child could have been so harmed by hate, I shudder to think what must have been the emotions of those actually taking part in the war who lived in a maelstrom of hate!"

Another student of German parentage writes: "Daddy asked us never to use any German words after this. My grandparents were both German, and they prided themselves in the fact that I could speak German as fluently as they. It was my childhood language, as I never spoke English until I went to school. This sudden demand that we cease speaking in German caused my grandparents great sorrow, but what could be done?"

One statement by a young woman from an ideal Christian home challenges much serious thought. She writes: "Day by day, without any conscious malice on their part, my father and mother awakened in me an intense and lasting hatred of everything German. They had once been in Germany on a visit, and now under the war pressure they held up to scorn much that they had seen in Germany and ridiculed the Germans they had met. To this they added tales of fearful atrocities from the daily papers, all of which they seemed to accept without question."

OF intolerance there is no end of examples. "We were studying European geography that year and the geography book contained a picture of the Kaiser. I took my pencil and blacked out the picture and the word 'Germany,' and wrote the word 'hateful' all over the pages dealing with Germany and Austria. From the school song-book I scratched out all the hymns and songs with German names. All the German teachers were dismissed from the school early in the war as no one would study German." Another student writes: "I jumped for joy when mother threw in the fire all our German books. 'Just think,' she said to me, 'of the hours I spent studying the language of those horrible huns'. There could be nothing good about them; they were beasts, fiends, all of them—men, women, and children." Thus, under the influence of the war psychology, did we instil in our children the spirit of hatred in those feverish days when the disease of war laid hold of us with all its fury.

One pious child whose heart had been stirred to beat with intense and furious hatred writes: "Some of my little girl friends were allowed to knit on Sunday afternoons because 'it was for the soldiers,' but I was never permitted to do that, my parents being dyed-in-the-wool Presbyterians. I felt very bad about this and could not reason why it was wrong to knit socks on Sunday when the soldiers fought on Sunday." This same family took a stand of great bitterness against two neighboring families who were tainted with German lineage. Of a friend of her family one student says: "I began to dislike her and all Germans more than I thought a child could dislike anyone or anything. I refused to play with any toys which had been 'Made in Germany' although some of these were among my favorites. I had a playmate whose family was of German descent and who had some German victrola records which I used to love to hear; but now I refused to listen when any of these were played, declaring that I loathed them and that Germany was the ugliest language in the world. This may be the reason why, though I have now studied German three years in college, I am unable to like it or hear it spoken with any pleasure. In the war days I made no discrimination in my hatred of Germans—they were all butchers and I wanted to know nothing of them or their country."

War Causes

AS to the real causes underlying the war, there is only abysmal ignorance and prejudice among the average college students of today. Some of the papers I received reveal extremely childish points of view. One girl writes: "We had a beloved German governess

with whom I spent much time. She showed me the picture of the Austrian Crown Prince and his wife and told me that some Serbians had shot them, and that the war was to punish these cruel people. Listening to my parents, I came to believe that England and Germany were trying to punish the Serbians for their killing of the beautiful prince and his wife."

The majority of the children believed that the war was fought to "pay Germany back" for the "sinking of the Lusitania" and her barbarous treatment of Belgium. There appears no single inkling of doubt as to the utter justice of the Allied cause and the blackness of Germany and her allies.

It may be interesting to note that several of those who had disturbing thoughts about war and its methods are those who had some actual contact with the war. "I had no feeling of horror about the war till one day a young aviator fell in our harbor. We were on our way home from church when it happened. A big crowd gathered and I saw them bring out of the water the body of the young boy dressed in a uniform soaked with blood. His body was placed in the automobile right next to ours. Mother told me to look the other way, but I could not take my eyes from the horror of that sight. In a second, the machine was gone and we rode home in silence. The boy died on his way to the hospital. Father told us of his death and said, 'It's too bad, it's too bad.' Suddenly a feeling of shame came over me at my own thoughts. For the first time I realized that real people, persons that I might have known and talked with were being killed. It worried me. Another matter which bothered me a great deal was a friend I had at school. She had blond curls and beautiful blue eyes. I had loved her very much until one day I found out that one of her grandfathers had been a German. I could not figure out how any German could have a little girl as nice and loving as my friend. I seemed to see her grandfather with a fierce waxed moustache and big spiked helmet like the Germans I had seen on war posters. I was puzzled."

STRANGE to say, there is almost no evidence that religion played any part in the thinking of these children in so far as the teachings of Jesus are concerned regarding loving one's enemy, doing good, having mercy, or any of those virtues which are supposed to be central in the Christian life. Instead we find constant references to religion as aiding and abetting the spirit of hatred and revenge. "Never before had chapel services been so inspiring. The flags of America and all the Allies hung on the walls, and we had speakers who worked us up to a high pitch of enthusiasm." This last from a minister's daughter.

The daughter of an American missionary in India throws this light on a child's reactions to the facts of war: "As a youngster I saw something of the tragedy behind it all such as few American girls were able to see. I watched regiment after regiment of broken, wounded German men march through the streets of Ahmadnagar to the wire-entanglements of their prison. I saw that many of them looked just like daddy, or Uncle Fred, or Tom, and not at all like the cruel and terrible huns that we had been told about."

Emotionalism and desire for a share in the glory dominated many of the children's mental attitudes. One writes: "I liked the festive side of the war, the excitement, the flags, the parades, and the dramatic appeals to patriotism, I liked to think that I belonged to the most wonderful country in the world and to the superior race." Much regret is expressed that they were "too young to really have any share in making history."

THERE is an astonishing and predominating fear revealed that their own fathers or brothers will have to go, and the confession that in the household this dread was shared by many in the family circle. They wanted the enemy killed and beaten but they did not want their own loved ones to share the risks involved. Rhymes attacking the Kaiser and Germans in general were sung with great delight by all. The influence of moving-picture propaganda was tremendous. I can cite but one typical statement, though more than a score of the papers contained similar ones: "I first realized the atrocity of war when I saw 'Hearts of Gold.' As long as I live I shall never forget the impression that picture made upon my childish mind and even now I recall vividly some of the scenes. I saw little, fat, innocent babies being massacred by the Germans, villages pillaged, unburied dead lying about in the fields, and blood, blood, blood, everywhere. After that I was afraid to sleep alone, and the horror of my thoughts drove me frantic at times. I began to loathe and hate the Germans with all my soul, and I tried to picture all sorts of terrible ways to avenge those babies who had their hands cut off. I did my utmost to have grandmother discharge a cook in her home who had a German name, even though the cook had been with grandmother for many years."

Typical of the treatment of other children is the following: "We forced a little girl of German parentage to spit again and again on a picture of a German officer we found in her home. We made her salute the American flag ten times in succession, and then get down and kiss the ground at our feet, because we were superior American beings."

The reports of the armistice celebrations can be summed up in one word, "delirium"; children going mad with emotional excitement, burning images of the Kaiser, yelling songs of patriotism and revenge.

Here, briefly, are some of the psychological experiences which we must expect in children when a nation goes to war. They should be weighed in the balance when we face the war problem.

Modern Fears and Fables

MARK STARR

THE eloquent and unstinted tributes paid in this country to John Masefield, the new poet laureate of Britain, furnish further proof that appreciation of genius soars above nationalist frontiers. *Journey's End* played to crowded audiences in New York and London. A German stretcher-bearer's account of the war ran serially in the British *Daily Herald*. The American Negro, Paul Robeson, took London by storm. Eisenstein's pictures filled a New York theatre as he made his way to Hollywood to unite Russian ideas of mass movement with American technique. So each day the story runs. One keen-eyed foreign observer of music in the United States maintains that the American orchestra is good because of its varied international composition, each nationality bringing its own special talent in using certain instruments.

In science, too, the inter-linking proceeds apace. Who thinks of Einstein as a German Jew? His ideas arouse a super-national interest as did the Atlantic flight of Lindbergh and the conquest of the southern polar spaces by Byrd. The present tariff agitation reveals how interlocked are modern nations in world trade, raw materials, markets and investments. We have lived to see the stock of the Bank for International Settlements subscribed for in the world's chief financial centres. And the French statesman, Briand, proposes a United States of Europe.

Yet the practice and the precept of internationalism still stand in opposition. The British conservatives of all parties still fight the proposed "Chunnel" to unite England with the Continent. Only reluctantly are the singers of *Britannia Rules the Waves* accepting naval parity. Many Americans like lambs before their shearers are dumb. Fear, suspicion, potential hate, nationalist prejudice still block the way to full and conscious coöperation between the peoples of the world—now, perforce, one for good or ill. The price possibly to be paid for such a cultural lag is too awful to contemplate. The ancient pogrom-begetting lie that Christian babies' blood was needed for Jewish rites has not been so far-reaching in its effects as the fears nourished on the fables which persist in the schools of the nations. Unless we eliminate this poison gas of peace time and aim at mental disarmament, all peace treaties are writ in running water. H. G. Wells' warning should be pondered by educators:

> There can be no common peace and prosperity without common historical ideas. Without such ideas to hold them together in harmonious coöperation, with nothing but narrow, selfish, and conflicting nationalist traditions, races and peoples are bound to drift towards conflict and destruction.

AN examination of school textbooks convinces one that no nation is without its fables, its energizing myths, its "sacred cows" which are unquestioningly accepted and worshipped. That is an important and fundamental reason why our mental horizons do not more quickly expand to the real interdependent world of the twentieth century.

There is, for example, in the British texts, an account of the Battle of Waterloo, ending with the final *Up, Guards, and at them,* which would not be recognizable from the French and German histories of that event. The stories of Agincourt, of an unbeaten nation, of a beneficent Empire ruling the "lesser breeds" for altruistic motives—all these have entered into the mental make-up of the average Briton. There are also such poems as *The Charge of the Light Brigade* to glorify complete obedience to orders. Only one text so far has abandoned the "sole guilt" of Germany in starting the World War. The quiescence of Britain in the face of the present Indian struggle for independence can only be understood if the schooling of the British public is remembered. The India of the subconscious mind of the average Britisher is that of the Black Hole of Calcutta; he has never heard of the counter-atrocity of the Well of Ujnalla and of the terrified Sepoys tied to the cannon's mouth to be blown to pieces.

France, too, has her fables. How many French school children had their attitude to the Germans moulded by Daudet's *La Derniere Classe,* the pathetic story of a French teacher meeting his beloved students for the last time because tomorrow the Germans will control the schools of stolen Alsace-Lorraine? In a current elementary primer written by Ch. Charrier, children of seven to nine years old learn about the adventures of two French boys of their own age who trick a detachment of German infantry and save the lives of 30 French soldiers.

In an Italian reader, the authors of *Making Fascists* found the following passage:

"'Do you know who Pasquale Sottocorno was?' asked the teacher.

"'No,' confessed Cippelletti.

"'He was a shoemaker from Milan. He was lame on account of a bad hip. In 1848 the Revolution broke out. Milan flew unarmed at the oppressors. The Artillery bombarded the barricades. The Captain of the citizens said, "Men, you must attack the palace of the Military Engineers and knock down the

door. . . ." But no one dared move, for between the barricade and the Palace there was a straight road swept with grape shot. Then Pasquale Sottocorno, limping with his crutch, crossed the street under the whistling of the bullets, and came to the door of the Palace. He fired it with an armful of oakum dipped in kerosene and forced two hundred Austrians to surrender.'

" 'What courage!' exclaimed Cippelletti.

" 'What a noble mind!' added the teacher. Then she said, 'Which seems greater, nobler, and more honest—this shoemaker or the King of Naples, Duke of Modena? Would you prefer to have been Pasquale Sottocorno or Francis IV?'

" 'Oh, a thousand times more Pasquale Sottocorno!' exclaimed the boy."

IN the United States the legend story of *A Man Without a Country* has attained nation-wide currency. In a group of students coming from Tennessee in the South, Seattle in the Far West, and from the Eastern states, well over 75 per cent had read or heard the story in grade or high school. It is still in use in New York State and is in the official "Syllabus in Literature for Elementary Schools" of New York City. There it is listed among the approved fiction, although, in the investigation of the writer, many students have been convinced, either by the potent pen of Edward Everett Hale or the dramatic recital of the teacher, that the perpetual banishment of Nolan in punishment for a hasty forswearing of his native land really occurred. Oddly enough, no one seems to have seen in this story an anticipation of Zweig's *Sergeant Grischa*—a tale of a man caught in the stupidity of a relentless official machine. The boys and girls were made to feel that a man without a shirt, a meal, or a job was still well off if he had not been deprived of his nationality.

In the United States, loyalty pledges, flamboyant declarations about the flag, oratorical contests, etc., are all part of the Constitution-worship and the sedulous cultivation of a feeling of superiority to members of other nations. Some of the boastings of liberty sound ironical in the face of "yellow dog" injunctions and the power trusts. If textbooks do not stress the coöperation present on a world scale in invention, science, art and economic life, they continue to create by the sin of omission the fable of nationalist self-sufficiency and perpetuate the fears and ignorance so fatal to well-being in the interdependent world of today.

Mechanical Men In a Mechanical Age

REINHOLD NIEBUHR

MEN'S highest aspirations do not greatly change from generation to generation, but each age has its own perils and opportunities. What unites us with the aspiring souls of every age is our desire to be whole, to fulfill every capacity and develop every potentiality of the human spirit, and to bring abundance and wholeness of life to our fellows. Now, as always, the spirit of each individual is set in a society and in a universe, and the development of its capacities depend upon the adjustment of its life to both the world of men and the world which is at once more and less than man.

What distinguishes our life from that of our fathers is the fact that our sense of organic relationship to society and to the universe has been destroyed. We lack inner unity and spiritual vitality because we are not organic to our world. We are isolated souls who can find no inner peace partly because we are not at home in our universe and partly because we lack that natural relationship to our fellowmen in which our fathers were prompted to the social passions and purposes which disciplined their lives. In our relationship to the universe we vacillate between megalomania and despair, lifting ourselves proudly and defiantly above the world of nature in one moment and sinking in confusion before her inexorable and blind fortunes in the next. In our relations to our fellowmen only a small portion of our generation has achieved that combination of intelligence and social energy which is adequate to express ethical passions in terms relevant to the needs and the circumstances of a complex civilization. The rest, left to drift in a sea of social complexity and mechanical relationships, can find no goal to steer for except as caprice sets some immediate end. Some impulse of nature becomes the organizing center of their lives; they live for sex or for greed or by the lust for power; or perhaps they can do no better than to obscure the confusion of their lives by hectic work and hectic play.

The tragic aspects of our modern life are not the result of any deterioration in the human mind or any retrogression in the human enterprise. We are the victims of our achievements. Beginning with the seventeenth century our race has made steady progress in understanding the detailed phenomena of the world which surrounds us. Becoming ever more precise in analyzing, weighing and balancing the various forces and factors which enter into the total harmony of things, we have substituted for the crude magic, by which our fathers tried to bend cosmic forces to the human

will, an exact and potent science which brought ever larger areas of nature under the dominion of human purposes. It would be idle to minimize and futile to enlarge upon these achievements of modern civilization. Science has not only increased comfort and well-being but it has contributed to the ethical progress of the race by offering the means, through its instruments of commerce and communication, for wider and more effective human cooperation and by putting man into a fuller understanding and control of the emotions and impulses which are the motive power of his multifarious activities.

THE losses which we have suffered by this development can be put into two categories, one cultural and the other social and moral. We have lost our sense of organic unity with the universe and we have created a mechanical civilization in which our organic relationship to our fellowmen has been destroyed.

The scientist alone cannot recapture either one of these relationships. He can conquer nature for us, but there are limits to his conquests. He can aid us in the development of the kind of social intelligence necessary for the ordering of our common lives, but he cannot revive the social passions by which we will that our common life be ordered. Ultimately neither our cultural nor our social problem is one which pure rationality can solve. Neither our ultimate faith by which we adjust ourselves to the universe, nor our moral will through which we find ourselves in our society can be expressed in terms of pure reason. The energies of life are not rational. Reason may guide them but it cannot create them. The adjustment of man to his universe toward which he must maintain an attitude of both filial piety and heroic rebellion involves too many paradoxes to be expressed in terms of pure rationality. Man comes to terms with his universe only by heroic and poetic insights, and he is nerved to undertake them only as he gains sufficient self-respect in his moral relationships to his fellowmen to feel that the human spirit must be taken into account when the effort is made to penetrate the ultimate mysteries. Religion, which is the whole of man adjusting himself to the whole of life involves precisely these two elements: poetic insight and moral vigor. Inextricably united, each is cause and each effect in the whole. We cannot solve our cultural problem without first creating the kind of moral integrity in our social life which will prompt us to be heroic in our ultimate insights about the character of the universe and we will not develop new moral energy if we cannot support it by the sublime assumption that our moral struggle is more than an effervescence on the surface of reality, that it is integral and organic to the character of the universe. So the poet leans on the prophet and the prophet on the poet in guiding the spirit of man. In the heart of every true and vital religion, as for instance in the religion of Jesus, the two are one. If it seems difficult to us to face at once the social and cultural problem, we who call ourselves disciples and followers of Jesus would do well to return for inspiration and guidance to one who based religious insights on moral experience and moral aspiration on religious insights, who asked men to practice love because he saw the love of God revealed in the impartiality of nature (the rain descending upon the evil and the good and the sun shining upon the just and the unjust), and who strengthened his faith in the love of God because he saw and appreciated the glimpses of love which are revealed even in imperfect human life ("if ye then being evil know how to give good gifts unto your children, how much more will your heavenly Father give good gifts to them that ask him").

IF we begin with the social and moral problem of modern man as intrinsically the more important, we cannot be long in discovering that what disturbs the inner unity of man's life and vitiates the once robust quality of his spiritual life is the mechanical civilization in which he lives. The civilization is too vast and intricate to be brought under ready control and its relationships are too indirect to excite the social sympathies which are needed to establish true brotherhood. Your modern man is related to more and more people in this world of mechanical interdependency but he is not related to them spiritually. Human sympathy which flows at the touch of human hands ceases to flow where men feel only the bonds of steel which hold them together in artificial societies. The coöperative societies in which our fathers lived were small compared to ours and their loyalties were correspondingly narrow, but they were potent. We are challenged to many loyalties but none of them are potent enough to offer us true self-fulfillment in terms of brotherhood.

Modern means of communication relate us intimately to people all over the world who are spiritually strangers to us and modern means of production relate us mechanically to people who were once our neighbors. Our neighbors have become strangers and strangers have become neighbors. We do not have the intelligence to make social goodwill effective in the intricacy of these relationships and the mechanical character of the relationships makes the generation of goodwill difficult. The result is that our common life is ordered by the impulses of nature, greed and the lust for power, which have achieved a new and awful potency by the advance of science; and our individual lives, lacking the discipline of a great social passion, are not ordered at all. . . .

Living in a civilization which he has not conquered morally, and in which life feeds on life in ruthless fashion, it is not surprising that man should be bereft of moral self-respect and should have neither the moral

energy nor the spiritual imagination to come to terms with his ultimate problems. Modern man is not immoral because he is irreligious; he is irreligious because he is immoral. Lacking essential self-respect, he tries to bolster his waning pride by the quantitative achievements which modern technology has made possible. The big city and the skyscraper have long since exceeded economic feasibility, except for the real estate man. The law of diminishing returns has set in in these vast metropolitan conglomerates of ours. They are monstrosities from an economic standpoint. They are built for psychological reasons. The same may be said for our worship of power and bigness in the nation. Lacking moral self-respect we try to impress ourselves, and the universe perhaps, by power. The splendor of the New York sky line and the venality of the political life of our city put in juxtaposition are a perfect symbol of the spiritual state of modern man. . . .

Clearly the spiritual leadership which our generation needs must come from prophets who know how to insist that man cannot be whole until he lives again in organic unity with his fellowmen. All civilization is a peril to brotherhood. The Hebrew prophets warred against a civilization much simpler than ours in the name of their ideal of brotherhood. No authentic moral idealism will ever live in perfect peace with a civilization which is bound to disregard human values for the sake of its secular ends of power, wealth, and efficiency. But it is idle to protest against the inevitable in the name of an ideal. Your modern prophet must be a technician who knows how to transmute realities in terms of his ideal. He must be a pedagogical technician who knows how to create the kind of social and spiritual imagination which will overcome the mechanical and indirect relationships which modern life has produced and help man to feel with and for his brother in this sort of society. He needs to be a social technician who knows how to create social organisms which can come into control of the mechanical world that moves now without social intelligence to match our engineering skill. Certainly our prophet-technicians must be more than engineers. Intelligence may be able to solve the problem which intelligence has created, but it will have to be more than engineering intelligence.

IF we admit that in the modern world the end of the prophet is to create moral energy and social intelligence in equal proportions, and his ambition, to generate and direct moral goodwill to socially useful ends, we arrive inevitably at our cultural problem: How can we maintain the energy and the intelligence at one and the same time? Are not our schools, which ought to be producing young men and women with the capacity to deal with the intellectual problems of our era, developing instead a rather large number of young people who are going to wait with Mr. Joseph Wood Krutch for "the influx of a simpler people not yet ripe for despair"? Is it not true that many people of our generation who are intelligent enough to make their ideals effective are also too intelligent to believe in the efficacy of any ideal or the validity of any great purpose?

The fact is that we have no clear intellectual right to believe in any solid purpose or any value which has ever claimed the loyalty of men. If value schemes have as their basis on the one hand the self-justifying vitality of moral and social experience, they are rooted on the other hand in the soil of man's religion, in his rational and yet reason-defying faith that the highest purposes he can conceive have cosmic support and are but refractions of cosmic destiny. The various faiths by which your modern man, who has not capitulated to despair, lives are clearly vestigial remnants of another day of more robust faith, when man felt himself organically related to his universe and worshipped a God who was in nature and yet above nature, a God who related man and his ideals to the universe.

Standing before these ultimate problems and ultimate mysteries pure science is clearly at a loss. It has a method for dealing with detailed phenomena but not meant for meanings which are revealed in totalities of relationships. Its intellectual instruments, its precise scientific concepts, are moreover hardly designed to capture or to express what man feels about life and about his organic relationship to the whole of life. These instruments of precision have gained such a prestige by their immediate triumphs and achievements that your modern man is unable to see what he cannot see through these instruments and afraid to confess that he feels unities and relationships which cannot be expressed in their terms! Obviously there are areas of experience and profundities in reality which can be expressed and discovered only in intuitions, presentiments, insights, and volitions which escape the bounds of pure rationality. They need to be, it goes without saying, constantly under the discipline of reason. They need to feed on reason but reason must also feed on them. Both self-consciousness and consciousness of the world have in them something of a direct perception which we cannot catch or express in a category of science. The fact that I am a self-conscious individual, that in my brief moment of consciousness I comprehend all time, surveying the past and planning the future, the fact that my conscious moment is dwarfed by the world's immensities and infinities and yet stands above them in as far as it comprehends them more than they comprehend it, the fact that I am both the world's child and the world's rebel and that I must find something in nature to explain my organic relationship to it and something above nature to explain my rebellion against it, this fact can never be adequately experienced in pure rationality nor stated in terms of

pure science. *Philosophy* can help me to understand and to express this experience but it is filled with too many paradoxes for philosophy. Without the philosopher the poet will let his imagination degenerate into free fancy just as without him the scientist will draw unwarranted conclusions from his little fields of experimentation. So we need the discipline of philosophy with the imagination of poetry and mysticism for the solution of our cultural problem. But ultimately man's cultural problem, the problem of making two worlds one, of achieving a sense of unity with his world, requires a heroic logic to which men are nerved only by a robust moral vitality and which they can express only by poetic symbols. . . .

WHAT we try painfully to recapture in our modern day, this wholeness of life, this organic relationship of man to his fellowmen and to his world, existed, as we have already suggested, as the unexamined possession of simpler people of another day—of the peasant, for instance, who had grown sufficiently intelligent to be fully self-conscious but not so intellectual as to be separated from his world and his fellows. The complexities of life destroyed that simple unity of thought and feeling and it cannot be re-established on its old basis. Religion which grew naturally out of the heart of the peasant can live in a more complex era only by collaboration of prophets who are also technicians and poets who are also philosophers. Only by their combined insights and achievements can we restore man to unity and wholeness. Even at best we may fall short of some of the virtues which were generated in this orginal simplicity.

Perhaps, as Spengler thinks, each civilization pays for the achievements of its ripened intellect by the enervation of its vital capacities. We will console ourselves with the thought that the high price which we have paid for our complex world has not been altogether in vain, for few of us would be willing to return to that simpler world. But while maturity is inevitable, there is no reason why we should not mitigate its limitations by preserving as well as we know how the graces of childhood. Religion is in fact the spirit of childhood eternalized.

We have a good authority for placing a premium upon the insights of the child, holding with Jesus that the simple intuitions which spring from the unspoiled unity of its spiritual life have the grace of ultimate wisdom in them. This too is our justification for holding so resolutely to the inspiration and the guidance of Jesus himself, in defiance of the moderns who fear traditions of every kind, religious traditions and loyalties most of all. These loyalties may on occasion betray us into error but anyone who has the wit to realize that intellectual maturity is not only a mark of growth but also a mark of decay will try resolutely, in defiance of modernity, to appropriate and profit by religious revelations and insights which our age could not produce but cannot afford to dispense with.

IF it is our task to create moral vigor and spiritual imagination, and if the coöperation of poet and prophet are needed for this task it might be added in conclusion that there is no easy way of uniting these two functions. It is difficult enough for the prophet to add the function of technician and for the poet to acquire the circumspection of the philosopher, but it is still more difficult for prophet and poet to be one. The prophet must try to come to terms with our civilization and the poet must try to come to terms with our culture. But the world of culture is, in terms of our civilization, a world of privilege. When the prophet inveighs against social injustice he is striking at least in part against inequalities which make the world of culture possible. The poets and the mystics have the time to discipline their imaginations and to say their prayers in a leisure which, in our kind of a world, is bought at the expense of other men's toil. We can not come to moral terms with our civilization without standing outside of it, and we can not come to terms with our culture without being a part of it; and being a part of it means profiting by our civilization. Confronting that problem no one can make rules for another. But we can give at least this warning: that any religious leader who is not conscious of this situation and who does not try to reduce its inconsistencies to a minimum will sink into moral impotence and will find himself in the end in the absurd position of worshipping a God of love without really loving his brother. That is unfortunately the sorry state in which professional religion is frequently enmeshed. We may well remind ourselves continually, one might say by fasting and prayer, that the prophet can stand alone more easily than the poet can in the final crisis. Moral vitality may become a substitute for poetic insight since it can generate the latter; but there is no substitute for it. If that was true in the past it is doubly true for us; for we live in a narrow world and there are many of us. If we can not recapture some organic unity, some sense of brotherhood with our fellows in which the saps and juices of a spiritual organism can replenish the easily exhausted resources of the individual, we will have no vitality to claim our kinship with the stars and make our ultimate adjustment to life itself. "If," said Jesus, "thou offerest thy gift at the altar and rememberest that thy brother hath aught against thee, leave there thy gift at the altar and first be reconciled with thy brother." Without the refreshment of authentic moral experience, your poet becomes priest and your priest a mere magic monger. Goodness, and in our day, socially adequate goodness, is still the one sure way to the knowledge of the divine. "Blessed are the pure in heart for they shall see God."

(Reprinted from Union Seminary Alumni Bulletin.)

Not in the Headlines

Toward Farm Relief

An international organization of agricultural economists has been formed for the purpose of seeking a solution of farm problems in general and the present world-wide agricultural depression in particular. The economists are split into two schools of opinion, one ascribing the current distress to monetary influences, the other to a maladjustment of supply and demand for farm products.

Austrian Fascisti Lose Ground

Despite alarming Fascist gains in Germany, it is learned from authoritative sources that Fascist power in Austria is on the wane and that there is now a movement toward the use of more peaceful methods. The *Heimwehr* leaders of the past year—Steidle and Pfrimer—have resigned, and the party as a whole is reported to be in a more chastened mood.

The Campaign Against Military Training

The Joint Peace Council has released a manifesto signed by world-wide leaders in many fields, protesting against the conscription and military training of youth. Among the signers of the declaration are: Albert Einstein, H. G. Wells, Bertrand Russell, Romain Rolland, Sigmund Freud, Rabindranath Tagore, T. Z. Koo, Jane Addams, John Dewey, and Upton Sinclair.

Macedonia for the Macedonians

In the course of a conference held last month, the Macedonian Political Organization of the United States and Canada passed a resolution refuting the charges that Macedonians are opposed to a Balkan Federation. The members of the conference asserted the opinion that a Balkan understanding could only be reached by discarding plans for the assimilation of oppressed minorities, urging in particular the immediate independence of the Macedonians from Greek and Yugoslav rule.

Reimbursing the Scrubwomen

Harvard alumni throughout the world have been asked to contribute to the Scrubwomen Fund so that on Christmas Day, 1930, $3,880 may be paid to the 19 scrubwomen who last year were discharged from their 35c an hour jobs by the Harvard University Corporation. The University Corporation refused to pay the Massachusetts state minimum wage of 37c an hour, preferring instead to discharge the women and employ men. The alumni are attempting to make amends to the scrubwomen for the injustice done them.

To Make the Peace Pact Work

The Federal Council of Churches' Commission on International Justice and Goodwill lists the following steps that must be taken if the guiding principles of the World Peace Pact are to be applied concretely: refusal to build navies up to the limit; ratification of Protocols allowing for United States entry into the World Court; ratification of Pan-American Treaty; adoption of policy to confer with other nations for peaceful solution in case of a war menace; assurance that the United States will in no way aid a violator of the Pact; complete delegalization of war by international law; abolition of compulsory military training in schools; continued coöperation with the League of Nations in further reduction of all types of armaments.

Saturday Afternoon Off

Saturday afternoon has been made a legal holiday in approximately 25 per cent of the States. In most instances, according to the *Monthly Labor Review,* the law applies only to public offices, but in others it includes "all purposes whatsoever".

Translating Faith into Good Works

The various religious denominations represented in Canberra, Australia, have united to lend material aid to the unemployed. Each church in turn maintains a soup kitchen for a month and as often as possible provides a special dinner for the jobless.

Educating For a United China

The Kuomintang policy to draw Tibet and Mongolia into closer relationship with China proper took concrete form with the arrival in Nanking of some ninety Tibetan students, the first to be trained under Nationalist auspices. The Kuomintang hopes that by destroying the barriers of language, customs and cultural differences, it will more readily establish a sound political union within the country.

Collegians Who Work

According to the Federal Bureau of Education 200,000 students earned at least part of their way through American colleges during the year 1928-29. Their total earning capacity is reckoned at approximately $33,000,000. Commissioner William John Cooper also called attention to the fact that loans amounting to nearly $4,000,000 were made to young men and women through student loan agencies in various institutions.

A Ministers' Union

A movement is on foot among pastors in New York City for the formation of a ministers' union to be affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and the Central Trades Body. Among those who are actively promoting the move are Dr. Edmund B. Chaffee of the Presbyterian Labor Temple and Dr. Harry F. Ward of the Methodist Federation for Social Service. Only bona fide pastors will be included in the union, not board secretaries or teachers.

A Moulder of Public Opinion

To impress its readers with the "menace of the Hearst Press" the *Christian Sabbath* lists the papers owned and controlled by Hearst with the circulation of each. The list follows:

	Circulation	*Sunday Edition*
1. New York American (m)	219,880	1,060,031
2. New York Journal (e)	82,677	.....
3. Boston American (e) & Sunday Advertiser	260,263	492,972
4. Chicago Herald & Examiner (m)	420,903	1,156,203
5. Chicago Evening American	540,516	.....
6. San Francisco (Calif.) Examiner (m)	186,795	365,540
7. San Francisco Call-Bulletin (e)	115,012	.....
8. Los Angeles (Calif.) Herald (e)	225,525	.....
9. Los Angeles Examiner (m)	205,915	438,719
10. Oakland (Calif.) Post-Enquirer	60,172	.....
11. Seattle Post-Intelligencer (m)	101,005	164,031
12. Georgia Georgian & Sunday American	63,982	128,962
13. Washington (D.C.) Herald (m)	64,031	135,936
14. Washington (D.C.) Times (e)	91,970	.....
15. Baltimore News (e) & Sunday American	151,914	174,204
16. Milwaukee Wisconsin News (e)	101,219	.....
17. Albany Times Union (e) & Sunday Telegram	38,343	42,257
18. San Antonio (Tex.) Light (e)	40,342	72,811
19. Detroit (Mich.) Times (e)	303,905	252,176
20. Rochester (N.Y.) Journal (e) & Sunday American	53,702	67,394
21. Syracuse (N.Y.) Journal (e) & Sunday Telegram	67,416	97,473
22. Pittsburgh Sun-Telegraph (e)	178,315	355,895
23. Omaha (Neb.) Bee (m)	59,976	.....
24. Omaha (Neb.) Bee (e)	56,101	.....
	3,689,879	5,004,604

Education in India

ARTHUR MAYHEW

ON the uplands of Bengal may be found an institution which has no place in the official reports on education in India. But it has attracted many educational pilgrims who seek in it, and not in vain, what they failed to find within the officially recognized system of education. Santiniketan, the Abode of Peace, deserves its name, for it is the outward expression of a poet's resolve to harmonize, for the peace of the world, what is best in the culture of East and West.

Close to the spot where his father Maharshi (the great saint) Devendra Nath Tagore had raised his temple for prayer and meditation, Rabindranath Tagore founded in 1902 his school which was to be a protest against the artificiality of modern life and its unwholesome concentration on material success. Here all that he revered in Hindu life—its simplicity, clear vision, and consciousness of the personality that revealed itself in the beauty of the universe as well as in art—were to find expression. And in order that this ancestral culture might be developed and shared with the whole world, Tagore brought Western scholars who could reveal by scientific methods the true greatness of Oriental classics and modern Bengali art. Through his own inspired teaching, as well as through the agency of these disciples from the West, he hoped likewise to inspire his pupils with a reverence for what was great in foreign culture. With this basis firmly secured, the development of mind and body could safely be carried on. And neither has ever been neglected at Santiniketan.

Poets and schoolmasters have, as a rule, little in common. But if reports are true, and they are backed by names that the world respects, we have in Santiniketan the germ of a university such as British India has always lacked: no artificial system of examinations and certificates involved in a network of committees, but a body of teachers inspired by a common faith, an atmosphere of enthusiasm, and the impress of a powerful personality. Here, if nowhere else in India, may be found that synthesis of East and West which alone can enable the whole world to enjoy the fruits of genuine culture.

SOMEWHAT similar in aim, though without the backing of so great a personality, is the Gurnkul of Hardwar, the monastic institution situated at the point where the Ganges leaves the Himalayas, a school in which youths from seven to twenty-three, under vows of poverty and chastity, are trained through the Hindu Scriptures and the ancient Brahmacharya discipline to an understanding of what is great and worthy of preservation in their racial heritage. Here, too, they dream of an ultimate reconciliation of East and West. As at Santiniketan, the vernacular tongue is the medium of instruction, but English finds its place in the curriculum side by side with Sanskrit.

We call attention to these institutions because we believe that they point to the steep, uphill path on which India must eventually seek her salvation and her proper place among the nations of the world. Unfortunately it is not at the moment the path that India's recognized leaders have in view. Tagore counts for nothing in the present welter of racial, political, and economic strife. Santiniketan is indeed a home of lost causes and forsaken ideals and impossible loyalties. Its cult of beauty and sweet reason is ignored. What vocal India demands is the harnessing of Western knowledge to the car of nationalism. She is ready to vaunt her traditional culture as a proof of her spiritual superiority to the West. But for its development there is no time. The West must be chastened by weapons borrowed from its own arsenal.

IT has been customary to blame the British Government for the neglect of the Oriental classics as an instrument of culture, and for the absence of any widespread vernacular literature in India today. But the contempt for orientalia that weakened the foundations of the educational system established by Macaulay was neither permanent nor widespread in the official world of India. It was the need for Indian workers, well versed in English and equipped with Western knowledge, to share in the work of government and promote the moral and material progress of their country that led originally to the neglect of indigenous culture. By the time that a steady supply of such workers had been secured, the advantages of Western knowledge and a lively consciousness of the material prizes offered to its exponents had effectively obscured the glories of Oriental lore.

Considerable research in Oriental subjects, classical as well as modern, is being done now in the universities, particularly at Calcutta, as well as in endowed institutions such as the Bandarkar Institute at Poona. But in official educational reports and accounts of educational debates in provincial councils there is a significant absence of any emphasis on the Oriental classics, whether Sanskrit, Arabic, or Persian, as an integral part of a sound general education. Such instruction survives in schools and colleges as a by-product, in the hands mainly of teachers whose learn-

ing is often profound, but whose methods of inquiry and teaching are obsolete and unscientific. Practically no attention is paid to the training of such teachers, while teachers of English and science, thanks to lavish expenditure and expert guidance, are becoming every year more efficient. All over India there are thousands of humble institutions where the Oriental classics are taught in time-honored fashion. But as soon as these institutions aspire to government recognition, they tend to become standardized in Western fashion.

There is, in fact, nothing in India today that corresponds to the British, German, or French conception of a classical education. Macaulay thought that English would take the place of Sanskrit or Arabic as the classical language of India, establishing a system of values and developing that sobriety and sense of balance which is associated with "humane" studies. But English, except for those who were lucky enough to continue its study to the close of their academic career, has been in India utilitarian rather than cultural in its application. If one is tempted at times to complain of the crudity of Indian public life, of the lack of balance and restraint, the reason for it may perhaps be found in the absence of a humanistic element in a rather aggressively utilitarian system of general education.

EDUCATIONAL India then, so far as she is represented on the platform, in the press, in provincial councils, and in official reports, is determined to forge for herself the weapons which will secure the position she claims in the world of today. The masses must be redeemed from illiteracy; family life and social customs must be raised by the more effective and widespread education of women; a richer variety of vocational aptitude must be discovered and developed by an elastic system of secondary education; technical and professional training must provide for the development of commerce and industry.

On all these points public opinion is united, vocal, and on the whole remarkably enlightened. During the ten years in which, under the Reform Act of 1920, Indian ministers responsible only to elected councils have been in charge of provincial education, there has been a quickening of the educational conscience, an unprecedented growth of expenditure, and an increase in school enrollment that compares favorably with that of any preceding decade. In town elementary schools, and in secondary education generally, the quality of instruction has been raised by an increase in the number and efficiency of training institutions for teachers; the further development of games, hostels, and school societies is removing little by little the reproach that education in India has no influence on character. The carving of new universities out of the unwieldly heterogeneous number of colleges has given the academic authorities scope, leisure, and funds to organize research work, to create university chairs for subjects beyond the effective teaching of individual colleges, and to aim at insuring, by inspection, an adequate supply of libraries, laboratories, and personal tuition for students.

IN the field of technical and vocational training it may fairly be claimed that the existing demands of industry, commerce, and the liberal professions for highly trained workers have, for the most part, been met, and that educators, in constant touch with the leaders of industry, are eagerly exploring such portions of the field as are still unoccupied. The training of lower grades of workers, skilled artisans and the like, is less effective. But here, too, the output has been increased. Further development depends partly on the reorganization of general education which must provide a firmer basis for specialized training and discover and develop more distinctly the vocational aptitude of pupils who drift at present aimlessly into the narrow and choked channel of government service and the "black-coated" professions. It depends also on the opening of new fields of industry and commerce. The training of workers for overstocked or non-existing industries is little better than the overproduction of graduates.

Substantial advance has brought with it no feeling of self-satisfaction among Indians; instead there is persistent and wholesome recognition of defects which must be removed before the country can hold her own in the society of civilized nations. The chief cause of these defects is India's poverty. The per capita amount of money expended on education is pitifully small compared with what the more advanced Western nations spend. But the proportion of actual revenue spent on education is unusually high. The poverty of India can be removed only by a better and more widespread education which this same poverty makes impossible. Until some financial genius finds a way out of this vicious circle, India's educational advance must fall short of her aspirations. Much more could be done of course by private endowment. More of the spirit is wanted that established the universities and public schools of Great Britain, the Rockefeller Trust and Carnegie Fund in the United States, and there are signs of a gradual growth of this spirit.

Meanwhile there is much that might be done to insure a wiser and more fruitful use of the funds already available. But steps in this direction need expert guidance that is at present lacking. More particularly is this so in the education of the masses which, as organized at present, is making little headway against the illiteracy that for generations has impeded progress. The attempts made hitherto to provide for small villages, in which the major portion of the population lives, for the agricultural classes, who

represent 90 per cent of the population, and for the industrial classes in the large towns, have been costly and ineffective. The single-teacher schools in small villages produce no effect on children who attend irregularly during a period of only two of three years. Nothing but compulsion can succeed among people who have been deprived by circumstances and tradition of all idea of the value of education. Only 15 per cent of the male population over five is literate in India and only two per cent of the female population.

Equally menacing and for social reform even more obstructive, is the status of women's education. We must not be deceived here by statistics which show a steady increase in enrollment and expenditure. Most of the children are in the two lowest classes. Few complete a course of elementary education, and of this small number many have been so badly taught and have attended so irregularly that they have got very little profit from it. Out of every 1,000 women, 986 cannot write or read a simple letter in their own tongue. Social reform leagues are emphatically protesting against this state of things, and a group of educated women, who make up in courage and ability for their smallness in number, meet regularly in an All India Women's Conference to devise ways and means of bettering the situation. But those who really mean business are conscious that the whole structure of Hindu and Mohammedan social life must be radically transformed before a supply of trained teachers is available and an adequate school program secured.

In the field of secondary and higher education Indian public opinion has got beyond the stage where it demanded merely examination success and qualification for government service and the professions. There has been a real danger lest this natural desire to fit the youth of India for national service may obscure the important fact that all forms of such service depend ultimately on a sound general education, and that national life must suffer if culture, which adds to capacity for rational enjoyment, is left out of account. Higher education in India has failed, not because it has been vocationally impotent, but because it has been concentrated on preparation for too narrow a group of vocations. If it is to succeed it must be more humane, more provocative of a lively interest in the spirit of man, his achievements and possibilities.

LET no one condemn education in India for the unrest it has caused. It would have failed in its purpose if it had not "troubled the waters." The observer who can, in these stirring times, turn for a moment from the political arena to the quieter field of social reform will find much to reassure him. There indeed the spirit of God is apparent. In the social reform leagues and charitable organizations that are trying to secure fair play for women and the depressed classes, and to educate them into self-respect, we find a new Hindu, Sikh, and Islamic attitude towards life, animated by Western literature and science and by the personality of Christ. For it is not only by lifting the lower classes from their social degradation to the inspiring fellowship of the Indian Christian community, that Christian missions have set their mark on this great nation; their personal example and persistent proof of the joy of service have inspired many who are not professed Christians to emulate their zeal and set about the purification of their own religions.

It is easy and dangerous to exaggerate the importance of Christian influence. India has still a long, steep path to climb before she can claim a place among civilized nations, if by that term is meant nations where public opinion is actively organized against social vice and oppression. Christian influence, though widespread, is largely confined to sentiment. It lacks too often the motive power that laid the foundations of Western civilization. Christianity as a beautiful idea sweetens the individual life of many a Hindu. It will not make him a driving force in the world until Christ has for him passed out of poetry into history and convinced him of the fact that God is actually working out his purposes in the world today.

It is not without thought that we have applied so freely the word "national" to India's problems and aspirations. To those concerned with her political future, the clash of races, creeds, and communities may be the most prominent as it is certainly the most perplexing feature in that variegated continent. But fanaticism is the child of ignorance and cannot permanently withstand the sanity engendered by sound education. Nor should undue importance be attached to the fact that Indian unity is mainly manifested at present in opposition to or criticism of British rule. Political agitation is the most obvious channel just now for the expression of this desire for unity. But it did not create this desire and would not in fact outlive it. We can neither understand nor assist Indian education unless we see clearly through the mists of current controversy and strife the goal of unity toward which the attention of educated India is directed.

If India will only explore her own resources and develop her own culture in the light of Western knowledge she will achieve something far more important to the world than her own economic and political progress. She will have advanced the triumph of the spirit of man. Moreover, it may after all be that in the personality of Christ the perfect union of East and West will be consummated and the fruits of that union given to the world in a fresh outpouring of spiritual life.

Surveying Our Contemporaries

"The Spectre of War," by Wickham Steed; *The Review of Reviews,* (London), October 15, 1930, pp. 781-788.

The weakness of present plans for disarmament lies in the uncertainty of concerted international action against war-makers; and this uncertainty is in a large measure due to the refusal of the United States to accept responsibility for the maintenance of world peace. This is the crux of Wickham Steed's analysis of the distressing plight of the League of Nations, laid low by the spectre of war. Without the active participation of America in League affairs, argues the writer, European nations are left to struggle in the vicious circle of arming for the sake of security and jeopardizing that same security by the very fact of increasing their armaments. A great stride in the direction of peace would have been made, in Steed's opinion, if President Hoover could have been persuaded to make a declaration to the effect that the United States would not help by friendly neutrality any violator of the Kellogg Pact.

"Aspects of the Present Interracial Situation in Africa," by Max Yergan; *The Student World,* October, 1930, pp. 366-375.

An effort to emphasize the moral responsibility of Great Britain, France, Belgium, Portugal, and Italy for the development of Africa. Mr. Yergan discusses the political, economic, and imperialistic impulses that have encouraged the Europeanization of the dark continent and he expresses the conviction that the increasingly acute interracial problems can only be solved by the spiritual leadership of the church, the school, and the press.

"Is Jesus Superfluous?" by Harry F. Ward; *The Journal of Religion,* October, 1930, pp. 471-486.

For the past several decades, notably since the World War, a changing attitude toward Jesus has become evident. Modern de-bunkers of biography and hero-worship are urging that religion would be more useful without Jesus, just as some liberals hold that socialism would be better if it dropped Marx. In answer Professor Ward points out that the vitality of Jesus for modern men and women lies not only in his uniqueness but in his identification with the creative development of life. His challenge to us is not so much to follow him as to develop our unrealized capacities. Only through him can we go forward from ignorance to intelligence, from chaos to order, from warfare to good will, and so realize the tomorrow which we all want.

"Cancellation of Debts," by J. S. Bache & Co.; *The Bache Review,* October 18, 1930.

A reasonable statement of the war debt case. American financiers are beginning to realize that our government will never be able to collect the World War debts in full, and that it would have been far wiser for us to have accepted Great Britain's proposal several years ago that all debts between the Allies be cancelled. As matters now stand, the world-wide economic depression, the downward movement of prices and the consequent enhancement in the value of gold have given rise to a situation that is unbearable. The only solution is for the United States to consent to a reduction in the amounts owed her by the Allies equivalent to the conditional debt due from Germany under the Young Plan, in consideration of the Allies' cancelling the latter debt. Such a move would result in increased purchasing power on the part of other nations, which in turn would redound to the benefit of our country far in excess of the debt which we cancelled.

"Was Peace Possible in 1917?" by Sir Charles Petrie; *Fortnightly Review,* November, 1930, pp. 584-595.

An outline is presented of the various peace proposals which were made in 1916 and 1917. Attention is called to the fact that at the end of 1916 a deadlock had been reached on the battlefields. The opinion is expressed that if the famous Landsdowne letter had been issued in the spring instead of in the winter of 1917, the response from British public opinion would have compelled a more serious consideration of the German peace offers and that hostilities might have been ended in 1917 and the most destructive year of fighting prevented.

"Foreign Loans and Politics in Latin America," by A. E. George; *American Bankers Association Journal,* November, 1930, pp. 417-418, 462-465.

An economic interpretation of the series of eruptions that have characterized Latin-American history during the current year. The world-wide depression of prices, excessive investments in non-productive enterprises, and foreign obligations which Latin-American countries now find difficulty in paying, have all led to the withdrawal of money from industry and a consequent wave of unemployment, dissatisfaction, and revolt. The writer holds that, while investment in South America is risky at best, it will nevertheless, by a series of elevations in the standards of living, prove the ultimate salvation of that continent.

"A Successful Experiment," by Sidney Hillman; *The American Hebrew,* October 17, 1930, pp. 657-676.

Among the efforts in various cities to promote better housing none has been more conspicuous or successful than that of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. Today the visitor to the Amalgamated Coöperative Apartments in New York City finds a modern up-to-date structure housing more than 500 families, who pay an average rental of only $11 per room per month—a rate which, for New York, is exceedingly low. The coöperative principle is apparent in other ways besides merely the erection and rental of the apartments. Tenants have the advantage of a coöperative grocery and meat shop, laundry, electric and ice services, as well as various recreational and educational activities. Inspired by the success of this project, a group of public spirited men, headed by Lieutenant-Governor Lehman, are at present building a similar coöperative apartment for workers in the famous Lower East Side—New York's most congested tenement section.

Wall Street and Hollywood Boulevard

CHESTER S. WILLIAMS

I.

THE dazzling lights of Broadway; gaudy ballrooms peopled with exquisitely dressed patrons; scores of luxurious sedans and coupés speeding along wide, smooth boulevards; love behind a steering wheel; marriage at a costly altar of a Fifth Avenue church in the midst of a floral display; divorce in a dignified courtroom before a richly robed judge—for two hours the scenes flickered through a poor projector in a little movie house near a deserted mosque in the city of Constantinople.

An enthusiastic crowd of Turks applauded vigorously and broke into noisy conversation as they walked out to the accompaniment of a cheap American piano, playing a scrambled bit of jazz. A group of us, students from half a dozen nations, sauntered down the hill to the harbor of Stamboul. Seating ourselves on the rude rails of the famous bridge that crosses the Golden Horn, we fell to discussing the American film. As we sat there in the moonlight, a great freighter anchored not far off. The large, white letters, "American Export" stood out in relief against the brick-colored prow of the boat.

"That boat carries the new shipment of autos from America," commented a Turkish lad. "Great machines they are!" he added vigorously.

"And that British boat a little to the left," ventured a Bulgarian youth, "just unloaded about a million new model felt hats, machine-made from America. They're advertising them in the papers already."

One by one ships carrying American-produced goods were pointed out, and the picture play was almost forgotten. But after a short lapse into silence, the Turkish boy jumped down from the rail and said forcefully, "The whole world is being Americanized! The cinema is making us desire American things, American wealth, manners and customs, and we're losing our individuality, our cultures."

I looked at the group and was suddenly aware that the Arabian and the Egyptian wore the same cut of clothes as the Hungarian and myself. Their parents were spending the fast diminishing family fortune upon their education in an American Near East College, where they could learn the English language and study the American formula for success. I remembered that they were learning concepts of fair play through participation in American sports—basket-ball and base-ball. And yet beneath this super-imposed veneer was a keen spirit of national loyalty, a sense of devotion to their ancient cultures, a secret pride in their racial inheritance.

The new combination of Wall Street and Hollywood Boulevard loomed large in importance that evening in the minds of that diverse group of students. The connection between the American Export freighter anchoring in the harbor of Constantinople and the film shown in the little movie house beside the mosque was suddenly apparent to all of us. Wall Street and Hollywood Boulevard were merely symbols, the one standing for big business, trade, control of markets and resources, and the other representing propaganda, advertising, and publicity—new methods of control.

We discussed old methods of control exercised by the leaders of past ages. We remembered the power of the sword, a symbol for control, and how there came a time when conflicting rulers within a defined area fell under the restriction of a powerful church, with a consequent period of ecclesiastical control ensuing. We thought of the military and economic control which followed the activities of the missionaries in Asia and Africa. The agents of organized religion carried the social standards of the West along with religious creeds and ideals into the "dark" countries of the world. Traders followed to meet demands for white men's clothes and utensils. Resources of great value were discovered and were at once claimed by the armies and engineers of all nations. But the missionaries seem to have created new demands for freedom and independence as well as for goods. The teaching of the pioneers of religion has produced rebellion in the hearts of the oppressed and exploited. Territorial empires, built up largely by the old methods of military control, have tended to dissolve, and independent nations have become more numerous. The passing of the old order based upon military control is becoming increasingly apparent.

II.

THE present tendency in the field of international relations is toward a sort of economic cosmopolitanism in which national boundaries play an ever smaller part. International mergers seek world markets. Armies cannot bring them profits; they must have peace and prosperity. Though these mergers be international, it must not be forgotten that American capital holds a controlling share. Machine methods have come largely from American industrial centers.

The result is evident. The people of this shrinking world are rapidly being standardized. And there is a general feeling among the intelligentsia of Europe and the East that this movement is stimulated, perhaps indirectly, by the frequently well-meaning masters of finance on Wall Street in close combination with the film magnates of Hollywood Boulevard.

Films are now the missionaries of the trader. Films produce demands for his goods in all parts of the world. The drama of the new order is being written and directed on Hollywood Boulevard. Millions of feet of films! Millions of acclaiming eyes! Silk stockings, overstuffed furniture, floor lamps, clothing, automobiles, radios, telephones, tractors, canned fruits, musical instruments, and thousands of other manufactured articles are suggested to millions of peole in all parts of the world. Theatre palaces in Cairo on the Nile, little movie houses in Gold Coast towns, theaters on Shanghai roof-gardens, weekly photo-plays in Y. M. C. A. buildings in Java, kinos in Munich, cinemas in Marseilles, Ceylon, Cape Town, Mexico City—hundreds of thousands of them dispense pictorial suggestions of goods available.

Night after night American habits, ways, manners, and morals are paraded before a world audience. It does more than amuse; it subtly undermines their own cultures, modes of life, ideals, customs, and traditions. It powerfully suggests a new way of life, a standardized, overly-sexed, machine-age existence, with its philosophy of materialistic acquisition. The films urge people to conform by constantly suggesting the same type of action and living.

Students in Europe and the Near East are just discovering and voicing this sentiment. They are beginning to witness the result of the efforts of over two thousand people employed in one hundred and fifty offices in seventy countries dispensing American-made films. They are beginning to understand the power which the leaders of the American film industry hold over the demands and desires of men. And the enterprise is only in its childhood.

OUR Department of Commerce has declared that "Trade follows the films", and a special department of research has been established to develop the trade possibilities in motion-picture production. There is ample evidence of the power of the film in creating foreign as well as domestic demand. This may be done purposely by producing an advertising film tracing a process, or more subtly through pictures designed ostensibly for entertainment.

The advertisement picture is most effective in selling goods to wholesale companies and large scale industries using the commodity, but its value in this relation as a trade stimulator is insignificant compared to its influence upon the mass of purchasers through the entertainment medium. The very fact that a great number of commodities are weekly displayed to over a billion people in the world creates a desire for American-made goods and increases our favorable balance of trade. "We know," says Julius Klein, director of the United States Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, "from the commercial attaché of the Department of Commerce in Rio that the use of the California type of bungalow and outdoor swimming pool in Brazil was really brought about through showing them on the screen." People all over the world are beginning to order goods "like the things they see in the pictures." They are beginning to dance like Americans, enjoy the same music, wear the same cut of clothes, seek the same machine efficiency, and generally conform to the picture version of the United States.

III.

IN answer to this reform mania, a great number of thoughtful people are raising the cry, "The world is being Americanized!" And this fear is not altogether unfounded when we realize the fact that the American film industry controls more than 85 per cent of the world market. Furthermore, it seems to be impossible for other nations to enter the field of picture production. The sale and distribution of pictures is, of course, based upon their ability to entertain. But the competitors of the American industries are constantly robbed of their great film personalities because higher salaries finally lure them all to Hollywood.

Further, American distributors are able to dictate terms of contracts to theatre owners merely by threatening to withhold the supply of American films. They have been very successful in obtaining a great number of binding contracts to use "all or none," or a certain very high per cent of American pictures. This places the new foreign producer in a dilemma. In order to finance good pictures he must have a large home market, a monopoly, in fact. In many cases even a home market monopoly would not make high type picture production possible. But in order to get this market he must make better pictures than his American competitor.

THERE are two approaches to this dilemma: first through government subsidy, and second through discriminatory legislation against American films. In countries like Russia and Italy, government subsidy has been provided, and most of the pictures have been produced for propaganda purposes. The first legislation of any importance in Germany was undertaken in 1925. A law was passed which made it obligatory for theaters to show one German film for every foreign film admitted.

In 1927, the British at their Imperial Congress legislatively opposed the "evils of the American film invasion." Their chief objections to the American films were based upon the belief that they are Americanizing the loyal British children, and interfering with the development of British pictures. Accordingly, in cool, calculated English manner, a law was passed to minimize the menace of the great influx of "barbarian pictures." It was stipulated that five per cent of film footage shown in British theaters after October 1928

must be of British production. This amount is to be gradually increased until in 1938 every theater program will be required to show at least 20 per cent British films.

NOT long ago France tried her hand at legislating against the film danger and almost precipitated international discord. Their law, too obviously designed to increase the French market at the expense of the American producer, provided that for every seven films imported into France one film must be purchased and distributed abroad. Further, only four of the seven would be admitted from one country. Objections to this law arose from two quarters: the French theater owners, and the American distributors. Five hundred films per year were declared necessary to keep the French movie houses operating, and four hundred of these would have to come from America. The American distributors threatened not to supply any films at all under this law; so negotiations were begun at once with Will Hays to avert a disastrous film famine. It was finally agreed that the seven to one ratio would be acceptable to the Americans if the seven films imported into France might come from the same country, and that the French picture purchased in return would not have to be shown.

Paul Ebner, head of the Maxim Gesellschaft, the largest film corporation in Germany, has been engaged for the past few months arranging an Anglo-French-German bloc to stem the tide of American films, and to provide a reasonable basis for European film production. His theory is that the market provided by the theaters in the three countries just about equals the home market of the United States picture industry. Further, he feels that Great Britain has the actors and artists, Germany possesses the best directors and technical experts, and France contributes the best stories. Upon the basis of using the best in each country he hopes to effect a division of labor, and a combination of film interests. This is one answer to the increasing power of Hollywood Boulevard.

Briand proposed a "United States of Europe" at the Tenth Assembly of the League of Nations as one answer to the expanding control of Wall Street. The scheme of the German film magnate would probably act as the greatest agency for carrying out the scheme of the French Foreign Minister. Films and finance go together. The political and economic unification of Western Europe is largely a matter of propaganda. The traditional animosities between the Germans and the French may be redirected by jointly produced films against the common economic enemy on Wall Street. Politicians and statesmen are constantly making use of the talkie in Europe. Paul Ebner's scheme raises the possibility that the world film empire of the United States may be broken up, and a balance of film power established through a European alliance.

The Gossip

YOU are a stretch of beach
When the tide is low;
Nothing but rocks and sand
That shift with the flow.
A rim of salt outlines
Your barren goal—
Bitter brackish margin
For your soul;
A few stray clams, and crows
That caw, and seek
For a bit of flesh
To still a hungry beak.

HELEN MARING

Seed of Age

IT must be age already in my breast,
The patient seed of darkness and of sleep,
Sown in the blood, to incubate unguessed,
Shaping slow bud and blossom, rooting deep,
Coming at length to fruit.

How otherwise
Should I find kinship, hitherto unknown,
In timeworn things, and look with fresh surprise
On centuried turf, and towers of grave, gray stone?

Strange to grow old, and wealthier, having lost
No early joy in ruggeder loveliness;
Treasuring still harsh ways of wind and frost
As when discovered first. Is age no less
Discovery, too? Will earth's horizons keep
Widening even to the shore of sleep?

TED OLSON

Night Listening

OUT of the night I have heard steps go by,
Faint and fear-haunted, muffled as in a dream,
Moving through dark, precisely placed and shy,
Till past the mind's fierce, lonely eye must stream
All human creatures who have walked alone
Down the long emptiness of a mid-night street,
Vaguely unsure of the urge of flesh toward bone
Nor knowing why life of itself is sweet.

And so we each go unaccompanied
Down the dim street which leads from birth to death;
Troubled by doubt, unbidden and unled,
Strangely compelled by each relentless breath
Until, having reached the end, time-tired, distraught,
We know not what we've found nor what we sought.

SARAH LITSEY

The Tale of One City

H. C. ENGELBRECHT

THIS is a tale of Vienna and the tale deals with housing. Among the prime necessities around which life moves is shelter—protection against the cold and the heat, the wind and the rain. Man being what he is demands more than shelter—he wants a home, a place to gather his family and friends, a retreat from the crowd, the noise, the speed, the topsy-turvy of life, a peaceful nook for study and thought and dreams, a corner of beauty to cleanse his spirit.

Man wants such a home, but what does he get? In a small town he may stake out a plot of ground, a few steps from his neighbor, and surround himself with a garden, flowers, and trees. But vast numbers of people are today flocking into the monster cities and creating what is known as the housing problem. They rent an apartment in a building in which twenty to a hundred or more families are already living, and in this beehive they carry on. From the middle to the bottom of the ladder these shelters grow constantly worse—noisy, dirty, sunless, overcrowded, without a trace of tree or flower, and about the farthest removed from what really constitutes a home. Every large city has its slums and there is precious little difference between them in any part of the world. The human kennels of New York or Chicago are no whit different from those of Constantinople or many parts of Russia.

AFTER the World War the housing problem became acute everywhere. In some places it was vigorously attacked and partially solved. The Dutch and the English created many beautiful garden cities. The Finns, firmly rooted in their habit of coöperatives, filled the city of Helsingfors with imposing apartment houses, strong, clean-cut, but with a distinct touch of coldness. Cities like New York granted tax exemption for new housing, and enterprising building corporations began to erect their garden cities in Queens and in nearby New Jersey. There was also a coöperative movement that created a number of union-owned houses for laborers.

Of all attempts to end the disgrace of the slum, that of Vienna stands out as the boldest and the most successful. The background of the story affords a proper perspective. Housing in Vienna was in a very bad way before the war. As the capital of a great empire and the headquarters for the war government and for war activities, the city added many thousands to its population during the years of fighting. Soldiers left the city for the front, for new homes in lime-soaked ditches or Siberian prison camps, but their families remained and houses were not vacated.

When the years of carnage had passed, the empire collapsed and Vienna was a "dying city." Emigration set in and the city lost more than 165,000 of its population. But that did not provide housing for the others. A counter-movement of immigration set in from the farms and from the regions formerly part of the empire. Marriages increased from 18,713 in 1910 to 31,164 in 1920. Office expansion during the war had usurped many houses. The total result was that in 1923 there were 40,000 more households than in 1914, resulting in terrible overcrowding, rent gouging, and evictions.

IN 1919 a significant change occurred in the city government: the Socialists came to power. The new government tried at first to meet the serious situation with the usual halting measures taken by authorities in the face of mass suffering such as lack of housing and unemployment. It passed a rent act in 1922, making it easy to pay rent in depreciated currency and safeguarding tenants against arbitrary increases and evictions. It tried to encourage private building by tax exemption. But the results were disappointing and the suffering continued. Driven to further action, the city authorities began to create emergency dwellings out of army huts. There were a goodly number of these about and they afforded at least temporary protection against the elements. During all this period both Vienna and Austria were passing through extremely harrowing times.

Unfortunately the record of Socialist governments has thus far not been a great improvement over that of their predecessors, whom they never ceased to indict—and rightly so. French, German, and English Socialists in power have hardly even attempted to change the fundamental structure of government and society. But the Vienna Socialists proved to be different. They understood their problems and determined to solve them by methods in harmony with their principles.

Their answer to the pressing need for homes was made on September 21, 1923 by means of the Great Housing Program. This program called for municipal housing—that is, no further encouragement was to be given capitalists, through tax exemptions or other means, to enrich themselves by providing houses of a kind for Vienna; the city itself would erect houses, own them, and provide homes for the people at a nominal sum. The program called for the erection of 25,000 apartment homes within five years. In 1927, 30,000 additional homes were voted. More than 45,000 have already been completed.

THE authorities were now faced with the question of the garden city. England and Holland had achieved wonders with the small cottage home surrounded by a garden. Was this the answer to Vienna's needs? Obviously not. Garden cities could not be created within the city and transportation was too inadequate to send the workers out of the city. Apartment houses were the only feasible plan. So it was decided to erect apartment houses within the city and garden cities without. Russia's new housing follows the same plan.

These apartments were not to be cheap barracks without light, air, or beauty. Fifty per cent. of the space available for a housing complex was allotted to a great yard in which gardens, playgrounds, and occasionally even swimming pools were located. The hideous back-alley flats disappeared, and all apartments looked out on a garden. The buildings were to be fire-proof and sound-proof, with all modern conveniences including electric light, running water, hardwood floors, and so on. The buildings themselves were constructed along simple, beautiful lines. The façade was attractively broken by balconies, bay-windows, and loggias teeming with flowers. Not one of the buildings is an eye-sore—a really astonishing performance when one considers what authorities are capable of doing in defacing the landscape. (Witness Berlin!) And similar to the streets of the city, the buildings carry individual names commemorating labor leaders and other public benefactors but never war heroes.

THERE are many unusual details in connection with these model houses. Such huge complexes lend themselves readily to coöperative undertakings, and whenever feasible the facilities for such action have been provided. Thus in groupings of 400 or more apartments there is always a central laundry operated by steam. In smaller groups one finds coöperative kitchens arranged for coöperative housework. The ground floor usually contains a nursery. Club rooms and libraries provide for higher recreation.

According to our American conception, these apartments are small, the typical one containing only 2½ rooms. Some are larger, many are only one room. But in Vienna this is a decided advance, for the people have never known large apartments. The rent is exceedingly low, averaging seven shillings for 1½ rooms. This is calculated to cover the maintenance of the buildings, not to pay interest on capital invested nor to repay the capital. While most of these houses are new and in good repair, a reserve is being accumulated for future use. It need hardly be added that these apartments are greatly in demand and that the city government considers housing as one of its permanent responsibilities.

THIS little story is worth telling for two reasons, aside from the obvious one of great relief brought to a suffering population. In the first place, it is the record of success achieved by a Socialist government. With good leaders faithful to their principles, the modern city is an almost ideal unit for a Socialist experiment. That the Vienna venture has succeeded is promise of similar attempts elsewhere. The other reason is the fact that for the first time a city has added housing to those necessities which are best administered socially. In the United States we take it as a matter of course that the government provides schools, furnishes water, cleans the streets, collects garbage, and so on. These matters are paid for in taxes. There are many other necessities in city life which could be provided in a similar way: for example, transportation and public utilities. Vienna has introduced municipal housing which, although it sounds strange to American ears, is obviously good common sense.

Christmas, 1930

WE murmur, "Peace on earth—Good will to all!"
And down the grayness of two thousand years
That cry re-echoes; while the moans and tears
Of suffering ages call and vainly call.
The fiery-curtained armies charge and fall;
The nations bleed on their own hurtled spears;
And still the strong, in python-sly careers,
Crush their weak fellows, writhing, to the wall.

"Good will and peace!" we urge; and, far away,
In the rose-vistas of a coming dawn,
We catch that plea, like a white radiance, borne
To stir all men that labor, love and pray.
Then shall the sword and rapier be withdrawn,
And Christmas moods be moods of every day!

STANTON A. COBLENTZ

From a woodcut by J. J. Lankes

Whither Russia?

SHERWOOD EDDY

THE question is often asked as to how far visitors are able to ascertain the realities of the present situation in Russia. It is true that tourist parties, seeing the country for the first time and knowing nothing of the language, are partly at the mercy of their guides and interpreters. Altogether I have made six visits to Russia in connection with my work, twice under the czarist regime in 1911 and 1912, four times under the present government in 1923, 1926, 1929, and 1930. Year by year I met former acquaintances of the old order both inside and outside of Russia. I have interviewed friends and foes of the present government, foreigners and Russians in every walk of life. I have gone everywhere I wished by night or day with perfect freedom. I have chosen my own interpreters, either taking them from America or selecting them from among friends in Russia. I have picked out the factories and institutions I wished to inspect, and no suggestion was ever made by the authorities that I limit my investigation to certain designated places. Nowhere have I been accorded greater kindness, courtesy, or freedom of movement, and nowhere have I met with more friendly, sincere men and women.

The situation in Russia is complex. Quantitatively, the country is the largest in the world, covering about one-sixth of the habitable land area of the globe, with a population of 160 millions, and increasing faster than that of any other nation. Qualitatively, Russia is even more important. Until the Great War we had in the world prevailingly one social order; since the Russian Revolution we have two antithetic social orders in conflict. The Russians hopefully anticipate their "world revolution" in all lands, and the West looks eagerly for the long-prophesied and longed-for overthrow of the present order in Russia. Probably neither will occur in our day. These two competing social orders are going to exist side by side for a long time to come. At present there is fundamental misunderstanding and misrepresentation on both sides. It seems to me we would do well to try at least to understand Russia, if that country, whether for good or evil, is to persist as a factor in our world.

THE biggest thing going on in Russia today is the Five-Year Plan. Economically, although with great hardship for the people, the plan is, in my judgment, succeeding and will doubtless continue to succeed. Those who have told us every two weeks for the past decade that the Soviet Government was about to fall, now tell us that the Five-Year Plan will fail. Formerly, they asserted Russia was starving—the country was an "economic vacuum"; now, suddenly, they warn us that she is menacing the markets of the world by her enormous "dumping" of grain and other commodities. Irrespective of whether we like them or not, what are the facts?

Since the World War and the revolution in Russia, production, which had fallen by 1921 to 17 per cent of the pre-war maximum, has been raised in nine years from 17 to 180 per cent, and by 1931 it bids fair to be 200 per cent of the pre-war standard. A tenfold advance in production in a decade of world depression and without foreign loans is unprecedented. In the five-year period from October, 1928, to 1933, production in Russian agriculture is to be increased by 55 per cent, light industry 200 per cent, heavy industry 300 per cent, and power output 431 per cent. In two of the five years already passed, the goals have been exceeded except in the case of cost of production which decreased by only five instead of the scheduled seven per cent, while labor productivity was increased by 14.5 instead of 17.3 per cent called for by the schedule.

These titanic accomplishments, however, are only obtained at great cost. The quality of the output is often poor. The Five-Year Plan is made an end to which everything else must be subordinated and sacrificed, even the welfare of the people. In order to get money to pay for foreign machinery and the imports required for the carrying out of the Plan, every available ton of grain or other production is sent abroad. The State Planning Commission calculates the amount that must be kept to feed the population. With ideal transportation and distribution, this would be barely sufficient; but with these things far from ideal, the population, especially in Moscow and some of the larger cities, faces a severe shortage of food, and as a consequence one sees long queues of men and women standing in line every day in order to obtain the barest necessities of life.

AMERICA and Europe have been much exercised over the exportation of Russian products at prices so low that they are said to menace both the farmer and manufacturer. The Soviet Government is accused of "dumping" huge quantities of grain, coal, lumber, pulpwood, manganese and other commodities, thus demoralizing our industry. Since Russian exports are likely to increase during the next decade, it may be useful to consider the real facts in the case.

Russia is not a great trading nation like the United States, for her entire commerce amounts to less than two per cent of the world's total. Her exports to our country are far exceeded by her purchases here. During the Soviet fiscal year of 1930 her sales in the

United States were only $32,000,000 while her purchases aggregated $145,000,000. During the six-months period when Russia was accused of dumping, her purchases in the United States were more than six and one-half times her exports. During her fiscal year ending September 30, 1930, the increase of Russia's trade balance in favor of America was thirty to one.

During the operations in wheat, conducted by the All-Russian Textile Syndicate on the Chicago grain market September 9th, 10th, and 11th, of this year, the total amount of the sales was less than 8,000,000 bushels out of 180,000,000 bushels sold. Canada had been hedging or selling futures to protect its own wheat stock against the possible decline in prices due to the huge over-supply of the world. The All-Russian Textile Syndicate would, we think, be the last to desire to lower the price. While the Syndicate sold wheat futures for less than $7,000,000, it has purchased in America $262,000,000 worth of cotton, $5,000,000 worth of sugar and $2,500,000 worth of machinery, all of which has been beneficial to American trade and to the American farmer.

The October Bulletin of the National City Bank of New York says: ". . . Short selling like any contract engagement is an act of business judgment. . . . We confess to skepticism toward representations that under these circumstances they deliberately and designedly sell their products for less than they might obtain . . . we doubt that they intend to enrich the capitalist countries by giving something for nothing or on any better terms than seem to be necessary. They are wanting goods which they cannot produce and are striving to get them by the only means available to them. Nor are we very much alarmed about what they may do when they have developed their organization and become strong, efficient and well-equipped."

Likewise the "huge" American imports of Soviet coal amounted to approximately one-tenth of one per cent of the American production. They consisted of special grade anthracite which is sold to the American distributor at a figure above the American price.

American imports of timber and pulpwood from Russia were only one per cent of our total imports of these products and one-tenth of one per cent of the value of mill cut timber in the United States.

In manganese ore, American mines are only able to furnish some 6.95 per cent of our needed supply, while Russia has provided 47 per cent in spite of the duty which amounts to about 74 per cent. Soviet ore, far from being dumped, commands a high price. A similar situation exists in the case of imports of Russian matches and candy.

STORIES have been successfully circulated in America that imports of lumber, pulpwood, etc., were the products of convict or forced labor. Workers in Russia are normally employed through public employment exchanges in which labor organizations have a direct vote. For the small amount of her export trade Russia has no need to employ convict labor. Reputable American importers who have visited the industries from which imports are derived have described the labor conditions in affidavits denying the use of convict labor, and several thousand American engineers and technicians have been actual witnesses of Russian methods. Against this testimony, unfortunately, there is still an amazing amount of fear and credulity in the attitude of most people toward Russia. A few interested persons by a little carefully directed propaganda can enlist prejudice which is almost equivalent to wartime hysteria.

The writer wishes to bear personal testimony that, apart from the handling under the G. P. U. of political and religious prisoners, the Russian penal system is on the whole probably the most modern, rational, and humane of any in the world. The entire plan is based not on the vindictive but on the redemptive principle. In view of the open disgrace of many American prisons and their crying need of reform, it is hypocritical for us to raise an outcry against prison labor in Russia. Instead, we might very well appoint a commission to make a thorough study of Russia's penal system, comparing it with our own with a view to the introduction of sweeping and much-needed reforms in this country.

THE most important issue in Russia today is the collectivization of agriculture. With 82 per cent of its population rural, the country as one vast, almost unbroken, alluvial plain must stand or fall by its agriculture. The present agrarian revolution may have a significance and magnitude second only to the great industrial revolution of the eighteenth century. It is perhaps the most thoroughgoing upheaval in history. At the time of the revolution in 1917, 200,000 landlords owned over a quarter of the arable land in European Russia and were looked upon with hatred by the land-hungry peasants. Over 60 per cent were illiterate. They were intensely individualistic, conservative, averse to change and to modern methods. Today an entirely different order is in evidence. In 1928 the *Kulaks* or rich peasants were deprived of the franchise, excluded from participation in the collectives, and as a class were "liquidated." By 1930 the writer found them eliminated from every district he visited.

Under the new plan there are three prevailing types of agriculture—state farms, collectives, and individual holdings. The object of the state farms is to furnish an example of model farming, and to produce grain for government export. Six million families, or nearly one-quarter of the whole peasant population are united in collectives, while some twenty million families are still cultivating individual farms. The whole weight of the government is thrown into making collective farming a success. Through economy of power and of

labor, expert management, the supply of credit, machinery and seed selection, the lightening of taxes, the development of social service and insurance—through all these coöperation and socialization are encouraged, while individual profiteering is discouraged, taxed, disfranchised, or placed without the law. The whole of Russia is in a sense one vast experimental farm.

However painful the process of transition for those of the older generation who cannot or will not change their habits of life, a new day has dawned in Russia. Probably greater changes are taking place among the peasants in this single decade than in the last two thousand years. A vital experiment is being tried out—the experiment of a united, coöperative, socialized order, in contrast to competitive, individualistic, nationalistic states. Dogmatists on both sides may contemptuously scout the possibility of an experiment in any but their own orthodox way of life. History must decide between the two. It may be that elements of value will evolve in each that can exist side by side and make a lasting contribution in a higher synthesis of experience.

THE trade unions in Russia are naturally the largest and strongest of any in the world. At the time of the first revolution there were not more than 1,500 union members. Today there are nearly 12,000,000, including 95 per cent of all productive workers who are eligible.

Wages are still confessedly low while the cost of living is high. In 1930 the average wage in the U.S.S.R. was for unskilled labor $31.90 a month, and $41.95 for skilled labor. In Moscow the average is $46.32. Real wages are already 16 per cent above those of 1913, with additional benefits such as reduced rents and prices, free vacations, medical service, etc., amounting to 27.3 per cent of the total payroll.

Although the amount of insurance paid is sometimes less than in England or Germany, in protective labor legislation and in its general plan of social insurance Russia probably leads the world. Instead of one day's rest in seven, one in five is now provided in the continuous working week. All workers rest every fifth day, or a total of six days each month.

A network of educational and recreational centers is spread throughout the country. All principal factories or groups of factories have clubs where the workers spend their spare hours in reading, study, or recreation. In the summer months the workers have their parks, athletic grounds, and boat clubs on the rivers and lakes. In Moscow over ninety such places are open every night during the summer. In the Park of Culture and Rest, for example, one sees a hundred thousand workers gathered every afternoon and evening and three hundred thousand on special days. Children of the workers are scientifically cared for free of charge. We visit the library, reading room and remarkable educational exhibits. Scores are at the chess tables. We attend free classes in English and other foreign languages. On the athletic field we see a dozen familiar sports in progress. Thirty games of American volley ball are going on side by side. The youth sing out: "There go the Americans. Come and have a game with us." Our group accepts the challenge and we are beaten by a narrow margin, as the good-humored crowd applaud with hilarity.

On the river every trade union has its boat club. There are craft of all types—eight-oared, four-oared and single shells, boats for boys and girls as well as older people. Athletics and gymnastics seem to be as popular as in America and Britain, and a fine spirit of equal comradeship exists between the sexes. Altogether it is like a vast Coney Island with added educational features and provisions for culture and rest, operated every day in the year by the municipality at a deliberate loss of millions for the benefit of the people. Nowhere in the world have we seen such a splendid non-commercial enterprise. On a smaller and more modest scale similar recreational and educational facilities are being introduced not only in other cities but in some of the remote country districts as well.

THE coöperative movement in Russia enrolls more members than all the rest of the world combined. The total membership of all Consumers' Coöperatives on April 1, 1930, was 42,199,000. The Agricultural Coöperatives enroll 27,000,000 members, who also, for the most part, belong to the Consumers' organizations. The Peasant Craft organizations have 1,760,000 members and the Housing Coöperatives 762,000. The Consumers' societies own and operate 111,234 stores. They conduct some 55 per cent of the wholesale trade of Russia, 62 per cent of the retail trade and 10 per cent of the foreign trade. They buy more than a third of the grain of Russia, 90 per cent of the butter, and they sell over 60 per cent of the cotton goods. The Russian coöperatives sell almost at cost and undersell the private traders from 15 to 30 per cent in price. The Agricultural Coöperatives endeavor to fill the same role as those of Denmark, though they are not as yet so advanced or effective. They market the peasants' produce, provide machinery and fertilizers, and increase production.

In 1923, when I was in Russia, the total school attendance was 4,400,000. This year the enrollment is 14,649,000 in regular schools, besides thousands who are attending schools for the illiterate or participating in various forms of adult education. In czarist Russia less than 40 per cent of the population were literate. Today 68.9 per cent of those from sixteen to thirty-four years of age are literate.

WHAT are the outstanding evils of Soviet Russia? From our point of view there are essentially three: the dictatorship with its constant danger of

tyranny, the policy of world revolution by violence and destruction, and an attitude of bigotry and intolerance which manifests itself in part, at least, in religious persecution.

On the other hand, there are certain undeniable values in the Russian system, chief among which is a passion for social justice. Our social order protects the individual; their social order protects the mass. We are strong for liberty, they for social justice. There is a willingness among the Soviet leaders to live the simple life of sacrificial sharing, with a consequent enthusiasm and loyalty on the part of the working masses, despite the arduous and often difficult program to which they are subjected. Here are the leaders of a nation sharing with the common people their property, profit, and income, their culture, music, and art, their leisure, recreation and education—all that they have.

A second value in the new Russian social order is the very definite progress that has been made toward the ideal of a classless society, one in which there is an entire absence of race, caste, or color prejudice. Always excepting political enemies, the principle of human equality animates the men who are in power. To them it makes no difference whether a person is white or black, yellow or brown, whether a worker is a man or a woman. In every way Russia is proving herself a laboratory of social experiment. Other systems may be set like cement in changeless forms that have become ossified, petrified, and stiff with conservatism. Not so in Russia. There the white-hot metal of a developing social order seems to run swiftly into fresh molds and to lend itself to new and promising forms.

IN any discussion of Russia we come finally to the inevitable question: Should the United States recognize the Soviet Government? In my judgment we should. Recognition on the *de facto* theory does not imply approval of a given government or its policy but simply the ability of that government effectively to control the state. Washington and Jefferson recognized the French Republic despite its regicide, the guillotine, and the red terror. Compared with the attitude of other leading nations, our policy regarding Russia has been most unsatisfactory. What have we accomplished by non-recognition? Can we isolate one-sixth of the world? Have we so little faith in our own form of government and its institutions that we fear their overturn by a handful of communists?

In addition to an undoubted stimulation of trade and economic prosperity, world peace would be greatly enhanced by American recognition of Russia. Most students of international relations believe that we should have friendly, direct, and official relations with every government which has signed the Kellogg Pact. Non-recognition carries the implication of latent animosity. Russia knows and keenly feels this. As in the case of Germany, it is not now primarily a question of what Russia deserves from our point of view, but what is best for the peace and prosperity of the world. Intervention, invasion, false propaganda, a hunger blockade, a world boycott, ceaseless hostility—all of these have been tried but with what results? Has the time not come for the method of friendship?

Life

TWO lights I saw: a vagrant star
Lost in a field of blue; a fire
Crazily flinging shadows far—
A lonely hope, and a mad desire.

JAMES STERLING AYARS

Granny

EACH day she straggled through the market place,
Peering with childish wonder at the wares;
Oblivious of the pitying, passing stares
And smiles that smirked across the public face.
Each day she wandered lonely, and her eyes
Gazed from a mind, insensible to pain;
Smiling her guileless way in sun or rain,
Voicing naive delight with whispered cries.

Feeble she was and old. And then one day
No longer found her roaming through the street.
Perhaps the pavement mourned her trudging feet—
No one remarked her absence on the way
Save as a mouth asked an indifferent ear—
"Where's the old girl that used to wander here?"

DAWN LOVELACE

The Poet

HE probed life's surface for the core;
He polished phrases till they bore
The tears of women paid to moan
And feel of coolest marble stone.
Song shivered in his chilly soul
Like winds across the icy pole;
And the cool truth was ecstasy,
But fancy was as leprosy.
The love of truth froze up his heart;
A cold, bare fact to him was art,
He made both soul and body ache
To know how strong are hearts that break;
How high the morning sun must rise
Before the dew on roses dries;
And was so painfully precise
He often doubted his own eyes.
His song was merely fact and tone
With neither soul nor flesh—just bone.

JONATHAN H. BROOKS

Clippings

Mixing Oil and Water

It is a time when the conservative and constructive influences of the world without regard to party lines or international boundaries must coöperate.—*Calvin Coolidge.*

The Stockholders' Dole

The General Motors corporation issued its quarterly report last night. While it showed a sharp decline in earnings, which was a foregone conclusion in view of the depressed condition of the automobile industry, still it left little doubt that the premier motor concern will both earn and pay its present dividend rate this year.—*O. A. Mather in the Chicago Tribune, November 1, 1930.*

Prejudice Against Gas

To kill something is one of civilized man's greatest amusements, but, as a rule, he dislikes being killed himself. Men, however, become so much accustomed to being killed by methods that they know . . . and it is only when killing is done in new or unexpected ways that strong prejudice is aroused.—*Major General Sir W. D. Bird, K. B. E., C. B., C. M. G., D. S. O., in The Army Quarterly, January, 1926, p. 244.*

Armed Disarmament

As long as the settlement of international disputes is effected by military power, all disarmament conferences will be armament conferences—*i. e.*, each nation will, necessarily, attempt to increase its individual power in relation to that of other states. The only formula for disarmament is the building up of a system of interstate relations containing a different basis of settlement.—*Dwight S. Mallon in The Journal of the American Association of University Women, October, 1930.*

Feed Them Like—!

Some years ago the owner of one of our great chains of daily papers, published in many cities, gave as his instructions to his aides the rule to "find out what the local prejudices of your community are and then feed them like hell." The fact that from childhood we are taught to prefer the pleasure of an emotion to the task of clear thinking makes us an easy prey to such a molder of "public opinion," and increases tremendously the danger of that herd instinct which may prove the destruction of the great modern democracies.—*James Truslow Adams in The Forum, November, 1930.*

The Glories of Free Competition

We may conclude with safety that what has happened during the past few years has been the establishment of an artificial system of prices. It has been computed by one economist who has looked over the situation very carefully, that there are some 400 organizations in the United States whose work tends in one way or another to establish or fit the prices of specified commodities. Some of them undoubtedly have price-fixing power, others can influence prices only indirectly. But they all have important influences in that direction.—*Dr. H. Parker Willis in The Bache Review, June 28, 1930.*

Yea Verily!

The contrast between Republican campaign assurances and the present reality is pretty vivid.—*Editorial in The Commonweal, October 8, 1930.*

Self-Defense?

We have never hesitated to pick on any country when we felt like it, from the size of Haiti to that of the British empire.—*Editorial, Liberty, July 19, 1930.*

How Come?

I think it is safe to say we have in the aggregate the brainiest nation in the world. We have bulging storehouses; we have unlimited capital. We have managerial ability, and we have idle labor.—*Governor John H. Trumbull, at 1930 Annual Conference of Governors.*

Opposition to the World Court

I would to God I had the power to stand here without eating a bite or taking a drink or sleeping a wink until 12 o'clock on the 4th day of March, 1931, if it would keep this iniquitous, infernal machine from being put on the people of America.—*Cole Blease, in The Congressional Record, January 18, 1926, p. 2299.*

Reparation Grouch

Of the 35,000,000 voters who went to the polls on Sept. 9, 18,000,000 conferred their suffrage on Reichstag parties which either are demanding immediate stoppage of reparations payments or believe time has arrived when Germany is entitled to a respite or revision of the Young plan. . . . More than 50 per cent of the vote polled on that fateful Sunday was an unadulterated expression of a reparations grouch.—*Guido Enderis in The New York Times, October 3, 1930.*

Military Angels of Mercy

It would be a very good thing . . . if it could be arranged to have the Army and Navy take over the functions of the Red Cross and be the ones to rush to the rescue in times of national disaster. The victims of flood, fire, tornado, famine, and pestilence are pitiful objects, appealing to the sentimentalist. It would have a salutary effect on appropriation if the military could appear as angels of mercy wherever human suffering occurs in its cruder and more dramatic forms.—*K. L. Buell,* U. S. Naval Institute Proceedings, June, 1928, *p. 478.*

The Imperialist Mind

We have distinctly maintained that representative government in its Western sense is totally inapplicable to the Indian Empire and would be uncongenial to the traditions of Eastern peoples—that Indian conditions do not admit of popular representation—that the safety and welfare of this country must depend on the supremacy of British Administration—and that that supremacy can in no circumstances be delegated to any kind of representative assembly. We have aimed at the reform and enlargement of our Councils, but not at the creation of parliaments.—*Lord Minto, Viceroy of India on Jan. 25, 1910, quoted in Foreign Affairs, October, 1930.*

The Peace Breakers

ROBERT WHITAKER

MUCH of the ineffectiveness of current peace propaganda is due to the fact that it is primarily concerned with the troubled rather than with the trouble-makers. The reasons for this, though not far from the surface, are not commonly seen. There is, in the first place, plenty of proof that the trouble-makers are both able and willing to make further trouble for those who interfere with them. Moreover, the violence of the trouble-makers is usually within the law, or within the ranges of accepted social custom. Finally, the troubled, even when they are sorely beset and wronged to an outrageous degree, are more disposed toward conciliation and compromise than are the trouble-makers.

Ten years ago, at Highland on the Hudson, during the annual conference of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, an evening session was devoted to a discussion of the class struggle, a subject then generally taboo at peace meetings or regarded with pronounced disfavor. It fell to me to give both the opening and the closing address, the other participants being Kate Richards O'Hare, Henry J. Gibbons, a single-tax advocate from Philadelphia, Cedric Long, Bolton Hall, and John Haynes Holmes. My frank espousal of the class struggle, supported no less frankly, as I remember, by Cedric Long, occasioned some vigorous but entirely amiable dissent.

As we went out into the night, a woman member of the Fellowship asked me with troubled voice and face, "If you are right, Mr. Whitaker, what is the work of the Fellowship of Reconciliation?" To which question, on the spur of the moment, I gave this reply: "The work of the Fellowship of Reconciliation is to reconcile the owning-class to what is going to happen to them."

The answer meant more to me, I surmise, than did my words to the perplexed woman, who was evidently enillumined by them. Ten years of thinking upon that reply have confirmed me in the impression that I spoke the thing which needs to be much more widely said. The whole program of reconciliation, as it is commonly preached in the social field by all manner of would-be peace-makers, is defective at the point of emphasis, the concern of the conciliationists being almost wholly with those who cannot be justly reconciled to things as they are, instead of centering counsel and admonition and rebuke where they belong—upon those who are the mischievous opposers of the order that is to be.

BOTH philosophically and historically the contention is sound that the violence of revolutions proceeds from the losing side, the order that is passing out. Two illustrations, far apart, will suffice to support this indictment. The French Revolution, as is known to all well-informed students of that social crisis, was remarkably pacific in its earlier manifestations. There was, indeed, a drastic program of expropriation directed toward the privileged classes, who were unable to resist it by reason of their obvious failure while in power to work out and support any effective remedial measures. But violence did not break forth until the emigrés, as they were called, fled to the borders and called in foreign aid to carry on their counter-revolutionary movement. The same thing was true, substantially, in the Russian revolution of 1917, a hundred and twenty-eight years later.

Between these two occurred our own Civil War, 1861 to 1865. This was likewise precipitated from the losing side. If there remains any popular impression either North or South that Abraham Lincoln was the aggressor, or the radical, in relation to this crisis, it prevails against the clearest evidence to the contrary. In fact Lincoln's pacific conservatism was such that no school-history of the North today would dare to exhibit it openly to the child-mind, nor will patriotic societies allow statement of it from the conventional platform. Abraham Lincoln openly avowed, in answer to the challenge of Stephen A. Douglas, that if elected president he *would not* interfere with slavery in the South, and that he *would* enforce the Fugitive Slave Law, a program that would have cost him heavily in the North. When a forgotten Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution was passed by both Houses of Congress in the last days of President Buchanan's administration, and signed by Mr. Buchanan two days before he went out of office, Abraham Lincoln, in his First Inaugural Address that same week supported it in unqualified terms. Moreover, his own State of Illinois, in popular convention, a full year after the Civil War was under way, ratified this now conveniently disregarded and generally unknown Amendment. Yet the Amendment was so conservative that James G. Blaine in his *Twenty Years in Congress* remarks that it offered the South more than the South had ever asked, a Constitutional guarantee that chattel-slavery in the United States would not be outlawed *except with the consent of all the States.* Lincoln won the nomination against Seward because he was so much more conservative with respect to slavery than was Seward—a fact which seldom appears in our school histories.

In defense of Lincoln it should be said that it is quite arguable now that the issue between the North and South could have been settled, to the enormous advantage of both his own generation and the generations

which followed, without recourse to war. Reconciliation failed, but it failed primarily upon the side of those who had to be reconciled eventually to the abolition of slavery. The North was more open to reconciliation than the South, and could afford to be so because the drive of social evolution was on their side. The outstanding fact is that reconciliation had properly nothing to do at that time with those who protested against slavery, but was directed toward dealing with the recalcitrant supporters of an irrevocably doomed order. It was an "irrepressible conflict," as Seward said, to his own disqualification as a compromise candidate. Had a sufficient body of "safe and sane" of the North perceived this and concentrated reconciliation upon those in the South who had to let go, there might have been no Civil War. Instead, moderation was preached to the Abolitionists, with complete disregard of the necessary pronouncement of the radical conclusion which the war certified to the slave-owning South.

The story is told of Samuel J. May, a prominent though secondary figure among the Abolitionists, that on one occasion he called upon his senior in the Unitarian ministry of the day, William Ellery Channing, for whom he had an almost worshipful regard, to beg of Dr. Channing a more pronounced support of the abolition cause. Dr. Channing met the appeal of the younger man with an outburst of impatient criticism of the Abolitionists. He protested that he did not like their intolerance toward the slave-holders, and the general intemperance of their speech. Samuel J. May listened until he could bear no more; then, forgetting for the moment the reverence he had long entertained toward the great leader, he broke forth: "Dr. Channing, you have no right to condemn these men and women until you are doing as much for the over-throw of slavery as they are." It is said to the credit of Dr. Channing that he received the rebuke in good spirit, and thereafter was not lacking in his own endeavors to awaken the country to the real situation.

PERHAPS I have dealt at disproportionate length with the crises of the past. But only by so doing can we enter into understanding of the crises of today. However ruinous the cost of radicalism may appear at times, the cost of conservatism by all the witness of history is immeasurably more expensive. Conservatism is always concerned with caution toward those who protest iniquities which are enthroned, and curiously blind to the incompetence of merely ameliorative measures to match the pace at which these apparently established institutions are quivering to their fall. John Brown, in a brief reply which he made to Governor Wise of Virginia, when that really worthy man pronounced the doom of death upon the insurrectionist, met the admonition to "be prepared" in words as eloquent as any Lincoln ever said. Reminding the Governor that there was apparently a difference of n more than ten or fifteen years in their age, and th both had judgment to meet in that eternity compar with which their difference in years was infinite insignificant, he answered with a dignity not to be d nied: "I am prepared. You all have a heavy respon bility, and it behooves you to prepare more than it do me."

To prepare the Pharaohs of the world to "let t people go," is the real business of every Moses a Aaron, and of all of lesser certification in the trac tions of men who want to serve effectively the cause the enslaved. Our business just now is not to wa Mahatma Gandhi, or such of his followers as may more militant than he, to keep the peace against En land, but to warn England to meet the inevitable wit out repeating the folly of the Pharaohs of the centuri Our business in the industrial crisis which is upon us not with the Communists, however we may demur their impatience and intolerance in word and act. O business is with the owning classes, to insist upon t obvious fact that their system of special privilege breaking down and threatening, through their recal trance—wherein they run true to form with all the ru breeding reactionaries of the past—to involve us in world devastation far worse than the wars of yest day. Our business as to peace propaganda, if it is be anything but a self-deceiving sentimentalism, is preach repentance openly to all who supported t World War and to insist upon the fact that the "p paredness" of today, which Christians support fa ously and all-but-unanimously, is as much worse th war as deliberate murder is worse than the ruthlessn of passion. It is not ours to soften protest, to join mighty and mistaken a man as Martin Luther, in c ing down the oppressed because too explosive towa the oppressor. Our business is to reconcile those w sit in the seats of the mighty with what is going to h pen to them, and to do this before it happens. O by so doing can we make clean our own garments, a only thus is reconciliation a thing worth while.

Wheel

YOUR motion is a flight of electrons
About an inaccessible core;
Is a drift of hot stars.

Mankind is the white avalanche
His fingers set rolling;
The universe—that blizzard of suns
To which he found the formula:
Who was he, the first wheelwright?

Mind is a broad belt
Slung over your iron shoulders
And over the years yet ahead.

ISRAEL NEWMAN.

Justice First

*The Story of John A. Lapp**

HE seems a strange and lonely figure, this interpreter crying aloud for fellowship between two great groups where mutual suspicion is sual and frank hostility not seldom met. He is a eacher of economics in a Jesuit university and a fore- nost figure in promoting legislation usually termed radical." Because at the present day there is an idea, lown strongly from Russian storm clouds, that to be adical one must fight God, John A. Lapp seems to tand like a herald of peace, summoning armies hidden rom each other to meet as friends.

It is difficult to write a just estimate of his work nd quite impossible to write it without giving offense n one side or the other. There are two frames of hind involved which frankly do not understand each ther: the modern crusading liberal and the immemo- ial liberating crusader. The difference is perhaps ade clear by a quotation from one who has long been personal and intimate friend of Lapp:

"We were talking about a Roman Catholic bishop who is famed for his strong stand in behalf of eco- omic justice," said this friend, a Protestant minister. I was glorying in having such a champion of social ustice in that church. And I happened to add a sar- astic remark—perhaps it might even fairly be called sneer—because this same bishop has just returned rom Rome with a package of the bones of some saint. And John Lapp, while he said nothing, was profoundly urt. I apologized for hurting him, but I still can't et the idea."

Novenas asking the Little Flower to intercede with God to provide work for the unemployed—the bless- ng of throats on St. Blase's day—medals of St. Chris- opher on automobiles to avert accidents—invocations o St. Anthony to find lost articles—the type of mind f which these are expressions is simply not intelligible o the average modern Protestant, and even less so to he modern liberal and agnostic.

Perhaps the most extreme example of this frame f mind was the announcement by the Cardinal of Ostia that the Italian earthquake was God's punish- ment on a race which permits women to wear such bbreviated bathing suits and such short, provocative resses. Influential Italian daily newspapers ventured protest, saying that if this were so, divine justice howed singularly poor judgment, since the people killed were mainly mountain women who seldom go swimming. To this the Vatican's official newspaper re- oined that the editors of these daily papers were not theologians, and hence not competent to pass judg- ment.

Between this primitive view of life and that of the scientifically trained collegians who form the great bulk of the social workers in this country, there is a wide gulf. And one who stands at the point of impact be- tween two such spiritual battle-lines is bound to be somewhat uncomfortable.

I HAVE seen John Lapp on a lecture platform, leap up in a blaze of emotion to answer an atheist who had sneered at his church, an emotion quite alien to the smiling Protestant minister who occupied the same platform and who passed off a similar sneer at his own church by the same atheist with a laugh and a wave of his hand. To Lapp, it was as though his mother had been insulted. To the Protestant minister, it was as though his club had been criticized.

Here perhaps lies the root of the difference. The modern crusading liberal feels that he is a new man, that he is applying novel principles, of which he is not yet sure, to a novel situation that he has not quite analyzed. To him social distress is apt to appear as a problem to be solved. He is always conscious of the excitement of pioneering, of a feeling of blazing fresh trails through untrodden woods. But to a Catholic the chief thought is that he is the bearer of a sacred trust, a soldier on an immemorial firing-line, attempting to carry out a world-old strategy under conditions per- plexing to him but completely understood at head- quarters. To him the war is an old custom; he serves in an army with a tradition of heroism. He is a crusader in the sacred old meaning in that he is fighting for the cross. To the Catholic it is quite as natural to appeal to Saint Therese or Saint Anne for advice and help regarding unemployment as it is to the mod- ern liberal to consult with the Secretary of Commerce or the chairman of the Federal Reserve. These saints are in a position where they know more and can bring more influence to bear than can he. And, above all, to the Catholic economist social distress is not simply a mathematical problem to be worked out but a family difficulty to be solved, with the chief aim in view of preserving the moral integrity of the persons distressed —the victory of the soul being the great goal, and not the mere comforting of the body.

LET us analyze, if possible, the attitude of the Roman Catholic Church toward radical economic movements. In any question affecting large numbers of people the attitude, actual or potential, of that

*One of a series of sketches of pathfinders to a new society, published anony- mously to permit greater frankness. Reproduction limited to 300 words.

church looms like the orbit of Neptune. It is not always pressure directly exerted. More often it is a state of mind, generated by teachings and customs, a system of values which are entirely incomprehensible to the person to whom its spiritual exercises are unknown.

Within the past twenty-five years, something like twenty million immigrants have been poured into the current of American national life. Myriads of them found in this country only one thing that bore the slightest resemblance to anything they had left in their homeland and that was the church. Language was different, laws were different, customs, transportation, habits of buying and selling, business, hours and days of working, labor laws, rental customs—everything was madly, bewilderingly different. Only the Latin of the mass sounded like home, and the glittering constellations of the altar candles shone like familiar stars. To the church then, these transplanted immigrants clung.

But in hundreds of thousands of cases, children of these immigrants felt a rift widen between their new life and the old habits. So the Roman Catholic Church in the United States finds itself battling vigorously to retain its hold upon the younger generation. It makes rigid lines and erects strong barriers to keep its younger folk from joining in any organization with other young folk on equal terms. It has its own system of schools from kindergarten to university. Its gymnasiums, sodalities, Knights of Columbus, Daughters of Isabella—all impress its members with the idea that they are different from the surrounding Protestant world.

It is certainly not to be wondered at if the surrounding world reciprocates the feeling, with the result that the gap widens to a gulf. But there are forces seeking constantly to bridge the gulf promoting human understanding, seeking to "co-ordinate"—in the term made familiar by the war experts—enterprises of common moment. Among these forces John A. Lapp is one of the most conspicuous and certainly one of the most significant.

LAPP is believed by most of his associates to be a convert to the Roman Catholic church from Protestantism. This, however, is not true. His father was a Lutheran, but his mother was a Catholic. He was reared in a part of the country where there was no church nearby, only a mission station. All his education and professional activities were in secular fields until, well along in his career, he found that the principles and ideas he had worked out in his own practice sprang naturally from, and were quite in conformity with, the tenets of his religion.

The amount of work he has done is enormous. In one year, 1926-1927, as President of the National Council of Social Work, he delivered 150 addresses in 32 states. Sales of his book have mounted to a half-million copies. His principal work *Justice First* must have appeared in 400 newspapers, either serially or in brief summaries. He has left a deep impress upon the methods of procedure of every state legislature, as well as on the methods of practically all relief systems in the country. "I do not know anybody who is on more committees," he says with a smile. Among them are National Council for the Prevention of War; Civil Liberties Union; Executive Committee of the League for Independent Political Action; American Association for Labor Legislation; National Council of Social Work, as well as fifteen or sixteen more. But John A. Lapp is not merely a yes-man, joining committees to keep things moving. He is a pioneer by profession, starting things, then moving on.

Educated at Alfred University, he later did graduate work at the University of Wisconsin and was awarded a fellowship in economics at Cornell. It was during this period, 1906-1907, that the field of legislative reference was just beginning to develop. Under the impetus of the La Follette movement in Wisconsin, scientific methods were being utilized in the interests of state government. Professor Charles A. McCarthy started the idea of scientific legislation through a system of compilation of all laws on given subjects. Lapp was his first pupil, and as such was put in charge of the Indiana Bureau when it was established.

In Indiana he pioneered all the time, building from the ground up. He was the legislative guide of three governors—Marshall, Ralston, and Goodrich. He framed most of the legislation for their administrations during five successive legislatures. He developed the idea of co-ordinating the University of Indiana with this legislative work, and through the university he trained a number of young men as scientific lawmakers, men who are now in the legislature.

The first problem left on the doorstep of the new bureau was that of vocational education. A preliminary bill met with little success. Further study led to the drawing of a bill which passed the next legislature in its first session—unchanged. This attracted national attention and President Wilson appointed a vocational commission, of which Lapp was a member. He drafted the national measure which had the extraordinary fate of being passed by Congress without change—an all-time record. Most commissions just flounder along. Under the name of the Smith-Hughes law, this measure is still in effect, and through its provisions the Federal Government spends $12,000,000 a year, in coöperation with the states, to equip young people, through vocational education, for their work in life.

Having accomplished this, Lapp went on to the next phase—vocational rehabilitation for men injured and disabled in industrial accidents. This brought him into the field of child labor laws, compensation work, and social insurance.

In 1917 the Ohio Health and Old Age Insurance

Commission invited him to assist with their work. He erved there for a year and a half, presenting the re- ort in 1919. Not much has come of it except agitation, argely because of the vigorous opposition of life insur- nce companies, against which Lapp has a deep and nerited grudge. Health insurance might be a reality, e says, except for the uncompromising battle they ut up against it. The Committee on the Cost of Medical Care, headed by Ray Lyman Wilbur, he con- emns just as heartily, on the ground that it is a device f the insurance companies to avert health insurance.

ABOUT this time Father O'Grady of Washington became interested in the problem of old age ensions. Together with Lapp he devoted eight nonths to this inquiry, doing most of the field work. ust as it was completed O'Grady was made secretary f the National Catholic War Council, and invited Lapp to come to Washington. This organization fterward became the National Catholic Welfare Conference.

"Up to that time," said Lapp, "I had never had any ork in connection with any religious organization. My experience had been purely political and scientific.

From an etching by Bernard Sanders

JOHN A. LAPP

But I found—I must confess to my amazement and pleased surprise—that the formulas I had worked out as the result of these surveys fitted perfectly into the framework provided by the Catholic doctrines. Especially was this true of Pope Leo XIII's Encyclical on labor. I never read this until in 1926, and it gave me tremendous satisfaction to see how up-to-date it really was."

At the time that his connection with the Catholic council began he was offered the editorship of a magazine called *The Nation's Health.* He remained at that post for four years, setting up in Washington a program for civic education—a system of study of civics in schools, both parochial and public, and work among the foreign-born. The publications of this movement gave the story of the American government, civil life and social problems. They embodied the elementary things men need to know about our country and its ways. They were translated into fourteen different languages, published serially in foreign newspapers and later issued by them in pamphlet form. Altogether they must have run to 5,000,000 copies. Meanwhile Lapp talked all over the United States on the need of education in citizenship.

Shortly after his consecration as archbishop of New York, the present Cardinal Hayes placed Lapp in charge of a survey of the charitable work in the archdiocese. He wanted to know what was going on and why. Two or three of his young priests were sent to study in a school of social sciences, and kept in touch with Lapp's survey so as to be able to use it intelligently when completed. As many as fifty people were working under Lapp's direction. They covered New York's charitable activities, taking seven months to do it. On the basis of their report, a new system of charities was set up. The archbishop asked for half a million dollars to cover his budget and the church responded—in the spring of 1920—with a solid million. By this time, ten years later, there is an annual budget of $7,000,000 in the archdiocese, all of it spent scientifically, in accordance with the survey.

ALL this time Lapp was coming to understand more and more how "the other half" lives, and it was a discouraging knowledge. For seven years he was joint director of the Social Action Department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference. Then, suddenly in 1927, Bishop Muldoon of Rockford died. A new bishop took Muldoon's place as head of the Social Action Department. This bishop, Lillis, of Kansas City, knew nothing about Lapp's work. Lapp received a letter one morning from Bishop Lillis saying that it had been decided to reorganize his department, that it was to be moved to Washington, and that another director would be put in charge—beginning the day that letter was received.

Why such brusqueness? Lapp will not have it that there was any connection between this sudden action and his open championship of the cause of Sacco and Vanzetti, whose condemnation and execution he openly denounced as an outrage. He insists that it was entirely a matter of budgetary reform. Well—it may be so. Whatever the cause was, within a few weeks Lapp was in charge of the department of social sciences at Marquette University in Milwaukee.

During the four years he has been there, the registration in his department grew from practically nothing to 525. From five courses, poorly attended or attended not at all, the department has increased so that it now includes nineteen courses, all overcrowded.

Marquette is a Jesuit university in the sense that the order owns it. But half of the board of managers are non-Catholic, more than half of the faculty and very much more than half of the student body come from outside the Church of Rome.

"Do the Jesuit fathers interfere with your teaching?" I asked.

"Don't you know them better than that?" he replied, smiling. "Nobody has ever said anything to me about my department. Being put in charge of it, I run it."

He is not muzzled by ecclesiastical superiors in his frank opposition and strong assaults on vested wrong. No man has battled the power trust more trenchantly or taken a more vigorous stand in exposing its attempt to subsidize the colleges.

Frequently he goes visiting as a lecturer. Addressing a synod of the Episcopal Church, he assailed "flippant Menckenites" and other advocates of the ancient jungle theory of the survival of the fittest. "Survival should not be governed only by biological laws," he said. "The struggle must be moralized by charity and justice. Competition of individuals will go on. Society would be drab and desolate without the rivalry of individuals for place, property, and power." This was in answer to a blast by the funny "American Citizenship Foundation" of Chicago, which held it to be a patriotic maxim that the weak should perish.

PEACE movements both here and abroad claim much of what Dr. Lapp laughingly calls his "spare time." He is a member of and delegate to the International Catholic Conference on Peace, the American Association for Peace Education, and the League for the Prevention of War.

He went abroad two years ago as a delegate to the preliminary conference on International Peace through Religion, which is preparing for a Congress of Religions at the 1932 World's Fair in Chicago. He is also a delegate to the World Alliance for International Peace through the Churches. But this pacifist activity is a lesser issue. "In my own thinking," he says, "all is subordinate to the idea of 'Justice First' which is the title of the book which I count the most vital in all that I have undertaken. There is a deep and growing animosity in my mind toward the kind of talk that is put up for 'community chests.' They always talk in terms of charity, never of justice. I feel a strong revulsion toward the 'charity game' of football they are promoting this fall. Why? Because a lot of wealthy people think they are doing all that can be expected of them when they go to see a football game. It puts the emphasis in the wrong place. Jesus had it right; he said, 'Seek ye first the Kingdom of God, and his Justice—and all these things shall be added unto you.'"

ON only one point does Lapp run counter to the majority opinion in his church. That point is his disagreement with Pope Leo's Encyclical, specifically where the pontiff asserts that "human nature cannot be changed." Lapp's constant thesis is that it can be changed and is being changed, that alteration of environment for the better creates an instant response for the better in human beings.

"To help people help themselves is what the world has got to do. Show men and women how to lift themselves out of poverty." To do this Lapp advocates progressive social education and legislation.

Perhaps it is for this reason that in thinking of John A. Lapp one sees a picture, not of the man, but of his work. One remembers not the sound of his voice but the things he says. He does not impress one as a general, but rather a messenger, bearing and translating instructions from a headquarters not everyone sees. His importance to the future is the interpretation he makes between two great masses of thought, two atmospheres which are often hostile but which must, for the sake of saving the world, come to an understanding and join in a friendly crusade. After meeting him, one carries away not so much a sense of a dominating personality as of a dominating purpose. He is a general who effaces himself in his strategy, bent not on winning his laurels but on bringing about a victory for his cause. He carries on the tradition of Stephen, the first organizer of poor relief, and of Francis, content to be merely the "poor little brother," and of the hospitallers of the Temple, with their motto *Non nobis, Domine.*

We shall be feeling the influence of his mild, persistent efficiency for many years to come when his name is perhaps forgotten. And like Francis, he is well content to have it so.

John A. Lapp is a "radical" in the original meaning of the term, which signifies one who goes to the root of things. Having got to the root, he finds that root is God.

Findings

"Next to the originator of a good sentence is the first quoter of it."—Emerson

Paul Plants, Apollos Waters

One generation plants the trees under whose cool shade another generation rests. One generation makes the roads on which another travels.—*Chinese Proverbs, submitted by Stella Fisher Burgess.*

Roosevelt the Jingo

Being a Jingo, as I am writing confidentially, I will say to relieve my feelings, that I would give anything if President McKinley would order the fleet to Havana tomorrow—*Theodore Roosevelt, Feb. 19, 1898, quoted by Bishop in "Theodore Roosevelt and His Time," vol. 1, p. 85.*

Liberty Originated with US

From the time that men began to teach and to preach they taught liberty and proclaimed equality; but neither liberty nor equality existed as we today know them, until they were written into the American Constitution, there to remain and to be a beacon-light to all the world.—*Wm. J. Long, America: A History of Our Country, p. 221.*

Harvest Time Has Come

There can be no possible doubt that the personal hostility of the average Indian today to the Englishman and the English Government is simply a defensive reaction against the overbearing arrogance and open contempt which nearly all Englishmen working in India display towards the Indians of all classes.—*Arthur Osburn, Must England Lose India?, p. 21.*

The Good Life

Morality cannot be subjected to geometrical patterns. The grammars of conduct do not inspire fluent and thrilling styles of living. Would you know the higher morality? It means to live by judgment and choice, by thoughtfulness and kindness, by sincerity and tolerance. But these are not measured by rule. They are all relative, all dependent upon the nature of circumstances. An absolute infinity is a self-contradiction of terms. Man must have rules; reality we suspect has none. Throughout the universe what we call law may be known by other names.—*Alfred W. Hall-Quest, It's Not Our Fault, p. 167.*

From a Former Secretary of State

The review which I have made has shown that all the foreign wars in which we have engaged were brought on by our own precipitate action, that they were not inevitable, and that they might have been avoided by the exercise of prudence and conciliation. Our history also shows that during our whole life as an independent nation no country has shown toward us a spirit of aggression or a disposition to invade our territory . . . our second foreign war—that with Mexico—was provoked on our part . . . (in 1898) the war was forced upon Spain by us, and it might easily have been avoided with honor.—*John W. Foster, former Secretary of State, War Not Inevitable, 1910, pp. 14, 6, 9.*

Surrender Mind and Body

What is a soldier? He is a man who is ready to give up his liberty because he recognizes that his superiors have the right to dispose of all his powers of mind and body.—*Lt. Col. Paul Azan of the French Army, The Warfare of Today, p. 306.*

One Word

The stupidest thing on earth is to characterize a nation with one word. A country. Then the result is: paprika, or goulash. . . . When referring to Italians, people say "macaroni"; and Raphael is lucky if he is included. They say, "the beautiful Polish women," and that means Adam Mickiewicz, too. Of the Russians they say vodka and that embraces Dostoievski, too. *Markovits, Siberian Garrisons, p. 196.*

The White Man's Burden

The new policy of "development" through the agency of capitalist land companies under British "protection" was extended under the Foreign Office during the scramble of the "partition" in East Africa where, "Protectorates" having been declared, concessions of 500 and 600 square miles were granted, and other huge estates allowed to be set up at nominal prices, deliberately expropriating the Masai from their best-watered lands, guaranteed to them by treaty "so long as the Masai race shall exist."—*Lord Olivier, The Anatomy of African Misery, p. 60.*

Makes 'Em Tough!

Not many years ago punishment in the American Navy was a matter of inflicted pain. It was no uncommon thing for a man to receive scores of lashes for a minor offense. If he fell unconscious the dose was finished next day. Lincoln describes a steam-box in which men were confined and sweated until their toe-nails dropped off. Thumb-hanging and ear-splitting could wring obedience from the surliest lad. "Makes 'em tough!" declared old Porter in defense of his truculent henchman. He wanted men who could repel boarders with insensate fury and brutish strength that only the harshest physical discipline could instil.—*Fitzhugh Green, Our Naval Heritage, p. 7.*

Substituting Class Hatred

There is very little national chauvinism in Russia today; but there is a strong class chauvinism, finding expression in class pride, class consciousness, class hatred. To an audience of Communists and workers the "Internationale," the song of class consciousness and class war, is as intoxicating as was the "Marseillaise," the song of national consciousness and national liberation, to the revolutionary throngs of Paris. And the merciless disabilities which are visited on the pariah disfranchised classes in the Soviet Union suggest very strongly the disabilities which the Tsarist Government, eager to base itself on exclusive Russian patriotism, visited upon the races which were regarded as "lesser breeds without the law."—*William Henry Chamberlin, Soviet Russia, p. 129.*

An Experiment in Understanding

DONALD GRANT

A CHRIST who is stern rather than gentle, a disciple John, young, tall and blonde, a villager Judas, reckoned worthy of any metropolitan stage, and a producer who never studied, yet whose Old Testament tableaux are reminiscent of Reinhardt—these are the outstanding people in the Passion Play of Oberammergau. The village lies at the head of the pass connecting Bavaria with Italy via the Austrian Tyrol. All around are snow-covered mountain peaks, for the altitude is 2,500 feet. Cow pastures and lumber forests are the main concern of the peasantry, although Oberammergau itself is really a village of artists. Practically all the leading players are woodcarvers, potters, or sculptors, accustomed to think in terms of design, form, and artistic composition.

From May to September, 1930, Oberammergau was a Mecca—a place of pilgrimage, visited by 383,000 people from all parts of the world. Of these visitors 130,000 were non-Germans, including 50,000 Americans and 28,000 British. Each week the Passion Play was performed four times—Sunday, Monday, Wednesday, and Friday.

Fellowship Camp at Oberammergau with 1,180 guests from 29 different nations has been an "Experiment in Understanding," carried out by the International Fellowship of Reconciliation. Among the nations represented were Britain, with 560 guests; the United States with 287; Germany, 135; Holland, 35; India, 25; Denmark, 21; France, 18; Australia, 12; Sweden, Norway, and Latvia, 10 each.

At the Lyons Conference of the International F. O. R. in August, 1929, the idea came to some of us that Oberammergau with its thousands of visitors from all lands, would provide a good opportunity for a Fellowship project in the form of a camp. The suggestion found favor, especially with our chairman, Siegmund Schultze, and in spite of strong misgivings concerning finance, it was finally decided that the International should push ahead with the plan. Three main purposes were kept in view, both in preparing the camp and in carrying it out: first, to make it as cheap as possible so that people with slender financial resources might be able to visit the Passion Play; second, to arrange for a sojourn of three or four days for each guest instead of the usual hurried visit of 36 hours; and third, to endeavor so to run the camp that our guests should meet with friends from other lands and share with them the spirit of the F. O. R. The experiment succeeded so well that it may not be amiss to describe it at some length.

THE scene of Fellowship Camp was a roo country inn on the outskirts of the villag Throughout the summer, if the early rays of the su failed to waken us before six o'clock, the concert tinkling cow-bells made our reveillé certain, as t village herd lumbered past the end of our dormitor Having rented the large social hall of the local ri club in this inn, we turned it into five or six dorm tories by the erection of wooden partitions, and t introduction of double-decker beds purchased fro the Youth Movement Hostel Organization of Ge many. Light curtains, easily switched about, enable the occupants of beds to enjoy comparative seclusio A common-room, brightened by charming railroa posters, was fitted up for reading and writing as we as for evening talks, discussions, and "sing-songs." At our door were the mountains, woods, meadow and crystal-clear streams.

What did we do? First of all our guests, arrivin by different trains and motor-buses, were met by th camp leaders who stood at the station among th hotel porters, bearing the sign "Fellowship Camp" upon a conspicuous wooden shield. Having been me our folk walked, as a rule, through the village t Schützenhaus where "Fellowship" was quartered ("Fellowship" is the single name by which ou camp, and we as leaders were known to the popula tion of Oberammergau.)

At the first common meal for each group, a we come in the name of the International F. O. R. wa spoken, and the three aims of Fellowship Cam described. People were encouraged to speak to eac other and not to sit twice in the same place. Wha ever of reticence or exclusivness might have survive this first meal was usually dispelled either by a shor "sing-song," or by an autobiographical "who's who," an early feature in the program of every group In this "who's who" each guest, young or ol shy or articulate, gallantly gave his or her name place of birth or residence, college or school, oc cupation, special interests, etc. Informing, interest ing and at the same time entertaining, this activity helped to develop a feeling of comradeship an unity among the group. Lectures were usually give on the Passion Play, followed by questions an answers. The second day was generally spent in attendance at the play. In the evening there was period of devotions and at 11 P. M. lights were out

The German postal authorities operate comfortabl motor-buses all over the Bavarian Highlands. W chartered one of these, accommodating 22 or 3 people, for a day's excursion for each group. The

trip included visits to notable places in the vicinity, an opportunity for hiking and a talk or group discussion, followed by a picnic meal.

IN every way Fellowship Camp was a notable success. Numerous letters have come back to us from appreciative guests many of whom inquire, "When are you holding your next Camp?" Faith in human nature, which the F. O. R. professes, was abundantly justified by our experience last summer. Ninety per cent of our guests were strangers to the Fellowship and to us. The policy of the camp was to take for granted that all our guests were interested in international work, that they would understand and respond to friendliness and goodwill. Practically all did respond, and the resulting pleasure was shared by everybody.

All sorts of people came—clerks, miners, *Wandervögel,* missionaries, student movement folk, teachers, professors, peasants, ministers, artists. Knowing that the mere fact of meeting, talking, and living with each other in the spirit of a family was in itself an achievement and a valuable experience, we tried not to *run* the camp too much, especially not to provide meetings, religious exercises, or even grace at meal time, unless our guests really desired them. A fixed program would have meant an easier time for the leaders, but we felt that it would be less valuable than the more informal, spontaneous method of self-expression.

The invariable factor in the Oberammergau sojourn of all our guests—the Passion Play—tended to make them more open to the ideas and principles which the Fellowship seeks to apply in life. The play itself, in its impressive beauty and simplicity, is from first to last the portrayal of the most dramatic conflict between spiritual values and accepted forms, between the faith of the idealist and the "common sense" entrenched in the status quo, between the prophet and the priest. To those who had watched the development and the climax of this drama, it was not difficult to speak about the ideals and the work of the F. O. R. with its faith in the power of good to overcome evil. Upon this faith the success of the Fellowship Camp rested—the faith that one thousand men and women representing different lands, religions, races, and classes, with different languages, habits outlooks, and training, would be true to the goodness in their own natures when thrown together as one human family.

I am a firm believer in the real brotherhood of peoples, and look upon the union of men under one world-wide government as certain in time to come.—*Sir Charles Dilke, Common Cause, May, 1929.*

Freedom

WHILE these fetters gall my flesh,
Freedom still is mine;
No defence of callousness,
Willing to resign,
Shall protect my tenderness;
Let the wounding bleed!
Shackles powerless to chafe
Mark me slave, indeed!

ELINOR LENNEN

Coma

SHE wondered at the urge of wind—
Had it laughed? Had it sinned?
Restless over tree and cloud,
Was the fog a cold soft shroud?
(Wish the wind were not as chill
Shrieking up the old brown hill!)

She wondered at the moving sea. . . .
Nothing could be still as she—
Strange to be and not to be.
(Tiptoe, tiptoe, in a coffin . . .
She had wondered at it often.)

Others wept—she could not weep—
Silent she, but not asleep.
Should she try at counting sheep?
(Tiptoe, tiptoe. Not a breath—
This was death and yet not death.)

HELEN MARING

Contempt of Court

I AM cited. Have I dared to raise
A layman's urgent voice and unstilled mind
Against the learned formalists, whose kind
The esoteric councils, through endless days,
Perpetuate? Must I yield fulsome praise
For sordid technicalities, and find
My paths of rectitude in alleys blind,
Or where conformists ape their masters' ways?
Contempt of Court! What shall we say, who grieve
For Justice—her scales o'erturned, her eyes aflame;
While jurists temporize, and in her name
Impeach her mourners for the tears they leave?
Not without hope weep we who thus dissent:
By too much lev'rage is the fulcrum bent.

ORVILLE WILLIS JONES

The Book End

The World Tomorrow reviews only books which it believes, after critical evaluation, to be helpful and interesting. On rare occasions it includes unfavorable comment on a popular volume which seems sufficiently misleading to render adverse criticism imperative.

The Fight for Peace

The Fight for Peace. By Devere Allen. Macmillan. Through The World Tomorrow Book Shop, $5.00.

THE adjective "monumental" is often applied to books somewhat carelessly and loosely, but it is most precisely and fairly descriptive of *The Fight for Peace,* by Devere Allen. It may be stated categorically that the book is the most comprehensive, uncompromising and diversely useful literary contribution ever made to the peace movement in any language. The author draws heavily upon other and earlier workers in the field, but he has brought together the materials of war and peace and of the persistent attacks upon the war system as has no other previous writer.

Mr. Allen finds a two-fold justification for his book: (1) the lack of any comprehensive guide for the pacifist efforts to reconstruct international relations; and (2) the urgency of discovering some way of blocking another world war which would destroy the race. With both of these contentions the writer is in hearty agreement. The great majority of historical literature from Herodotus to Shotwell has been devoted to wars and military activities. Pacifism has a long and honorable history which has gone all but unchronicled. Professor M. E. Curti was the first historian to consider American pacifism a worthy subject for serious research, and his book on early American peace efforts is barely dry from the presses. Mr. Allen gives us the whole literature of the field canvassed, intelligently selected, well digested, and presented in logical, convincing fashion.

Few persons not committed professionally to the war cult can deny that the winning of peace constitutes, along with the conquest of poverty, savage punishment, sex prudery and obscurantism, one of the four major problems of today. But it is probable that no solution of poverty, crime, or sex is likely to be forthcoming as long as human energy is strained and our resources poured out like water to maintain the war system. The defeat of war is the great prerequisite of other forms of substantial human improvement. If this be so, then this book by Mr. Allen deserves to rank with the contributions of such writers as Henry George, the Webbs, Devine, Thomas Mott Osborne, Havelock Ellis and other leaders in the campaign for human progress and civic decency. Its theme is probably even more cogent and pressing than theirs. Merely to catalogue the subjects treated would occupy far more space than that allotted to this review; but it may be said sweepingly that every aspect of pacifism, its problems and obstacles, is amply treated with intelligence, logic, and courage. Mr. Allen is proud that he is a pacifist, sure that the pacifist is the best type of patriot, and unaware that there is anything to be ashamed of in proclaiming such an attitude. There is no straddling the fence. Certainly pacifism stands small chance of triumph until all classes in favor of peace adopt substantially the same point of view.

While the historical background of the problem of peace is amply set forth, it is introduced primarily to give perspective and clarity to the analysis of current issues. Hence, the book has in it nothing of that antiquarian and pedantic pacifism which is so popular because it is so safe. The author comes to grips at all points with the knotty problems that face the world in the year 1930.

One of the best chapters is that in which Mr. Allen puts the quietus on the perennial arguments that it is hopeless to try to end war because man is instinctively bellicose and that human nature will always defeat the pacifist. Accepting the point of view of modern psychology and sociology, he shows how human traits are chiefly determined by cultural surroundings. Man is as much a biological pacifist as a biological wildcat. When culture places as great a reward on peace as it has on war, mankind will become pacifist in its behavior. The war system and the war cult are more powerful in perpetuating strife than the biological facts of man's nature.

The author's sense and realism are well exhibited in his estimate of the outlawry of war and the Kellogg Pact. He avoids any single-track, fixed-idea reaction. Outlawry is praiseworthy, but it cannot stand alone. A simultaneous attack must be made on the causes of war. Moreover, one must be willing to outlaw wars of every kind. The Kellogg Pact, through its reservations, will let in almost every conceivable type of war that is likely to arise. Especially wholesome is the direct and implied rebuke to some of the more recent and flossy internationalists who contemptuously high-hat traditional pacifism and place all their eggs in the single basket of legal rules and prohibitions. Yet Mr. Allen does not deny the necessity of new technique in the pacifist campaign, and he discusses such developments as the general strike against war and Gandhi's non-violent non-coöperation.

The impression of the reviewer in closing this book is, on the one hand, the nobility of the individual efforts for peace, on the other, the futile, discursive and disorganized nature of the pacifist movement as a whole down to the present time. It is just this that Mr. Allen aims to bring to an end. His book will not inspire many new converts to pacifism. It is too vast and encyclopedic to act as a propagandist tract. But it may be predicted that it will be the chief arsenal for pacifist campaigns in North America during the next generation.

HARRY ELMER BARNES

Take Notice, White Folks!

Not Without Laughter. By Langston Hughes. Knopf. $2.00.

THE average white man has only the faintest idea as to how an ordinary Negro family lives. Most American Negroes, like a majority of all other citizens, are poor in this world's goods. To the burden of poverty resting upon Negroes there are added the heavy handicaps arising out of race prejudice, discrimination and exploitation. Langston Hughes in his new novel, *Not Without Laughter,* has vividly portrayed the struggle of a Negro family to maintain decency and self-respect. Devout Aunt Hagar spending her days in exhortation and soapsuds up to the elbows; Annjee slaving away in the kitchen of rich and cantankerous Mrs. Rice; Harriet hating white people because she was denied a seat with her schoolmates at the movies and gradually drifting into street-walking; Jimboy caught by the wanderlust which kept him

migrating from the Kansas hometown to New Orleans, St. Louis, Omaha, and Detroit; Tempy, the prosperous and proud member of the household; Sandy, the young "brown-hope" of the family: all are driven by forces over which they have only the feeblest control. The book reeks with tragedy just because it is true to life. And yet it is "not without laughter." Hilarious singing and unrestrained dancing help to gloss over the squalor and misery of a people who are branded as inferior.

The indomitable spirit which has made possible the phenomenal advance of the Negro race in the United States during recent decades is revealed in the closing pages where Harriet offers to share her illicit income in order that Sandy may stay in school: "This boy's gotta get ahead—all of us niggers are too far back in this white man's country to let any brains go to waste! You and me was foolish all right, breaking mama's heart, leaving school, but Sandy can't do like us. He's gotta be what his grandma Hager wanted him to be—able to help the black race, Annjee! You hear me? Help the whole black race!" K. P.

Reflections of a Progressive

Tents of the Mighty. By Donald Richberg. Willet, Clark and Colby. $2.50.

BEFORE a new political alignment can be realized in this country the voters must be led to do more concentrated political thinking. A new party must come from "the grass roots." Donald Richberg, Chicago labor lawyer and progressive, confirms this philosophy in *Tents of the Mighty,* a book based on his experience with progressive political movements over a period of twenty-five years. "Political education and a new political religion are necessary," he says, "before a new political organization can accomplish anything." Richberg recognizes that voters must come to see the inadequacy of the existing economic order and choose between social control and individual desires. He declares that "against a leadership of traders, pawn brokers and slave drivers, who have sought the mastery of the world for the witless purpose of squeezing more money out of more men, another leadership has been quietly but relentlessly coming on." This is the leadership of experts—"the men who know must run the show." Future progressive leadership must be marked by this scientific and social attitude toward public service.

Unfortunately in his social emphasis the author, like many American progressives, seeks to escape the appellation of Socialist. Why are we so afraid of names? What difference does the label make if there is value in the idea? Moreover, Mr. Richberg errs when he says that Socialism "assures us of the end of individual liberty." He further errs when he says that in Socialism "we abandon the freedom of the small property owner in order to secape the tyranny of the large property owner. Modern Socialism insists that public property and utilities should be publicly owned for the reason that the public always loses when it puts public business into private hands. It is only when control of private property interferes with public health, safety, and welfare that Socialism would hold the owner socially responsible. Practical Socialism would give control to the individual over his own property held for personal use where there is no interference with the public interest.

There is a splendid chapter on "The Judicial Barricades." "No progressive party in the United States will ever progress appreciably until its rank and file have been educated to understand that the principal and supreme law makers in this nation are the judges." What good will result if we secure an unemployment insurance act only to have a reactionary Supreme Court declare it unconstitutional? It is well for voters to face these cold facts and know the intrenched power against which they fight.

HOWARD Y. WILLIAMS

Marriage Dissected

What is Right with Marriage. By Robert C. Binkley and Frances Williams Binkley. Appleton. $2.50.

The Old Love and the New. By Willard Waller. Liveright. $3.50.

A YOUNG couple were discussing whether to marry or not to marry. In university classes they had learned many intricate theories of human conduct, but they found that the question which they were discussing was one which the textbooks evaded. The academic theories about marriage constituted "a laborious and indisputable answer to a question that nobody asks." So they set forth to write their own textbook and to construct their own theory. The principles which the Binkleys thus worked out in their courtship they embodied after four years of marriage in *What Is Right With Marriage, an Outline of Domestic Theory.* Curiously enough, this rebellion against academic theory has produced a study characterized by some of the most outstanding weaknesses of past academic thinking about marriage.

The most valuable contribution made by the book is its demonstration of the dangerous superficiality of what the authors term "the schoolgirl theory" of marriage. According to this widely prevalent conception, marriage can be successful only when it is based on "true love." True love is the love which can never die. This view, the Binkleys point out, eliminates any rational approach to marriage, emphasizes the sentimental, encourages fantasy, produces disillusionment, and brings about a helplessly fatalistic attitude toward family disintegration and divorce. The true basis of marriage, as the Binkleys show, is mutual devotion of thought and energy to the service of each other, with mutual response and appreciation.

The most outstanding weakness in the book (aside from trusting to logic instead of to data) is failure to realize the significance of public sentiment in its bearings upon family relations. According to the authors, marriage is distinguished from other sex relations merely by the fact of permanence: "as the prostitute becomes a mistress or a concubine her position approaches that of a wife." Conventionality or unconventionality they regard as a conspicuous but unimportant aspect of family life. Such an attitude assumes that the individual can readily isolate himself from the opinion of his associates. The authors have failed to appreciate the extent to which the individual personality is in living connections with the social group.

The elements most distinctly lacking in the book by the Binkleys constitute the strongest features of Professor Willard Waller's *The Old Love and the New.* This book is an interpretation of case materials in the light of a sane development of psychoanalysis. The opening chapters present a vivid picture of men and women who have undergone the major psychological operation of being severed from wives or husbands. The reader confronts in concrete terms the fact that a physical and social partnership, entered into with love, and grown deeply into its component personalities through the sharing of emotional experiences, cannot be severed without intense suffering, and that when the divorce amputation has been made, the wound heals only slowly and with difficulty, if at all.

Yet this book is a landmark in the progress of science as applied to human relations. Past treatments of marriage have suffered generally either from lack of concrete, systematic and objective data, or from failure to discover and bring out the significance of dry facts. Here is a treatise which is both factual and deeply significant. It stands out like the foothills of a mountain range—irregular, rough, but looming against the sky, changing the landscape, and promising greater things beyond.

HORNELL HART

Peace Through Education

Educating for Peace. By Elizabeth Miller Lobingier and John Leslie Lobingier. Pilgrim Press. $2.00.

TEACHERS, ministers and parents in general will find *Educating for Peace,* by Elizabeth Miller Lobingier and John Leslie Lobingier, a helpful little volume. Education through the home, the church, and the school are dealt with in stimulating chapters. Concrete suggestions are made and illustrative material furnished. Emphasis is placed upon the potentialities of the amateur drama and an excellent bibliography of peace plays and pageants is given, as is also an annotated list of books on international understanding and friendship for children of different ages.

K. P.

Arms and Their Makers

War for Profits. By Otto Lehmann-Russbuldt. Alfred H. King. $1.75.

LAST year Otto Lehmann-Russbuldt published a booklet in German which he called the *Bloody International of the Armament Industry.* It appears now in an English version under the title *War for Profits.* The idea is magnificent. One marvels that it has not been done long ago. The author sets out to trail the devious paths of the munitions and armament industry, its international character, its sale of war materials to every buyer, friend and enemy, its intrigues at home and abroad to secure markets by means of war scares, its propaganda, its control of governments, its wrecking of peace efforts, and similar vicious work. The facts he presents are truly startling, but—and here's the rub. Unfortunately the book is not reliable. For example, the incident about the sinking of British ships in the Dardanelles by a mine manufactured in England (p. 37) contains three errors: the date is wrong, the questioner is not Ponsonby but Kenworthy, and Chamberlain does not admit the charge. Similarly the text of the Krupp letter to Napoleon III soliciting business (p. 42) is badly garbled. It is further evident that the author has not seen some of the books he cites, otherwise he would not have passed over so lightly Snowden's terrific indictment of the arms industry (which is cited in unrecognizable form), nor would he have been so sparing in his references to Admiral Consett's book. The bibliographical matter leaves much to be desired.

Obviously this is not the book needed on so vital a subject. Whoever continues next on this tack (and I hope it will be soon) must be exact and reliable. Let him look into the armament industry of Liège, the sales of the silk manufacturers of Lyons and of Italian sulphur manufacturers during the War, the record of the American munition makers, and many other matters close at hand. An accurate book of this kind will open many eyes and will be a real aid to the cause of peace.

H. C. ENGELBRECHT

Mandates versus Possessions

Mandates Under the League of Nations. By Quincy Wright. University of Chicago Press. $5.00.

AN important volume on a vital theme by Professor Quincy Wright of the University of Chicago came from the press during the summer. It is entitled *Mandates Under the League of Nations* and its 726 pages contain an authoritative and exhaustive treatment of the subject.

The old imperialism is crumbling. The ruthless exploitation of yesterday is decreasingly practicable and profitable. The spread of nationalism and the growth of a world conscience are causing the rapid decay of the old order. What is to take the place of the long-established colonial system? Independence for some peoples and dominion status for others. But unfortunately there are regions inhabited by backward peoples who lack the political and economic experience necessary to maintain a stable government. Moreover, many of these areas contain essential economic resources needed by the rest of humanity. If these peoples are not to be annexed and exploited by the strong powers, some satisfactory alternative must be found.

The mandate system established at the conclusion of the World War is an attempted solution. When all the difficulties are taken into account, it has succeeded extraordinarily well. Professor Wright has given us an illuminating picture of its accomplishments and failures, its defects and potentialities. His book is simply indispensable to serious students of world politics. K. P.

The Course of Modern History

World Politics in Modern Civilization. By Harry Elmer Barnes. Knopf. $6.50.

THE standpoint of Professor Barnes' Book may be gathered not only from its sub-title, "The Contributions of Nationalism, Capitalism, Imperialism, and Militarism to Human Culture and International Anarchy", but from the heading of the first chapter, "Nationalism, Capitalism, Imperialism and the Course of Modern History." The *course* of modern history is Mr. Barnes' preoccupation. After a brief but pregnant sketch of the commercial revolution, beginning in the fifteenth century, and the successive primacy in international trade of the Italian cities, Portugal, Spain, The Netherlands, France, and Great Britain, he considers the reaction of this expansion upon European society. The outstanding economic and industrial changes of Europe from the sixteenth to the twentieth century, the rise of manufacturing, the financial development, the agricultural revolution, and the political and institutional changes of European life are treated as expressions of this reaction. Part Two considers in detail the rise of capitalism, the growth of population, internal migrations, the appearance of antagonistic movements like socialism and anarchism, the development of the proletariat and its external effect in the colonial policies and exploitation of inferior nations that goes by the name of imperialism — the financial penetration of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. This brings the story to the situation which resulted in the outbreak of the World War.

I do not see how anyone can get a better insight into the main currents of modern history than by looking at them through Mr. Barnes' perspective. The importance of economic and financial factors is now generally recognized among intelligent readers. But a vague recognition is one thing while a detailed and vivid picture such as Mr. Barnes presents is quite another. The author's own interest in this course of history is largely from the stand-

point of the light it throws upon the origin and conduct of the World War. In his discussion of the latter theme, Mr. Barnes is special pleader as well as historian. He has written, as he says, "without considerations of conventional academic taste or professional expediency"—a candor that is decidedly refreshing. More than a quarter of the book is devoted to the attitude of historians toward the war and to a searching discussion of recent efforts, such as the peace movement, to "salvage the wreck of Europe". Although one may find himself in agreement with the writer about the practical importance of laying the "war myth" that has been so sedulously cultivated, one may at the same time ask whether the understanding of the early and generative course of history would not have been forwarded by separating it from the World War, leaving to a later volume the discussion of war guilt and the Wilsonian policies.

I should be sorry if these qualifying remarks seemed to detract in any way from my grateful sense of the importance of Mr. Barnes' work. I know of no better way for an intelligent reader to understand the moving forces in modern international life, and their fundamental bearing upon the significant problems of human destiny, than by becoming acquainted with this book.

JOHN DEWEY

Public Ownership in California

Public Ownership on Trial. By John Bauer. New Republic, Inc. $.75.

AS John Bauer indicates in a foreward to *Public Ownership on Trial,* discussions of the relative merits of public versus private ownership and operation of utilities usually run in terms of the doctrinaire preconceptions of the protagonists. Seldom are representative, unbiased data marshalled to support opinions. Consequently, to quote Dr. Bauer, this study by Frederick L. Bird and Frances M. Ryan, "should be hailed with delight by all seekers of truth who are not dedicated to a doctrine, and who are seeking the most satisfactory form of organization considered from the standpoint of service and rates."

The study is confined to the 31 municipal systems established in California since 1884. Of these 25 are still active and comprise 12 per cent of the installed horsepower in the state. A population of approximately 1,300,000 is served, 361,000 of whom are actual consumers. Of the 25 plants now in operation seven generate their own power. Of these seven two, comprising about one-third of municipally owned horsepower, at present wholesale energy to private companies pending the acquisition of their own distribution systems. When these two begin to distribute their own power, more than 2,000,000 Californians will be consuming municipally distributed power. The remaining 18 plants purchase energy wholesale from private companies.

The small municipal distributing plants have been more than able to compete with the private systems. Lower, or equally low rates have been charged. Yet extension and improvements have been made, and bonded indebtedness has been reduced an average of 15 per cent.

Four problems stand out at present. A majority vote should be made sufficient for the incurring of utility indebtedness. Management, accounting, record keeping, and rates need to be more standardized. Accurate reports of operation need to be published. The economics of large-scale generation should be secured to small cities, through state generation at Boulder Dam, through coöperative generation, or through increased bargaining power in securing energy from private systems.

Extended consideration of the points summarized above coupled with many tables and financial statements makes this study by Mr. Bird and Miss Ryan one of the best of its kind. The conclusions help to show why, as Professor Ralph Dewey pointed out several months ago, municipal operation has been increasing in the United States.

J. J. SPENGLER

Understanding Modern France

France, A Study in Nationality. By André Siegfried. Yale University Press. $2.00.

IN *France, A Study in Nationality,* André Siegfried has given us a brief but genuinely important interpretation of his people.

Most of the book discusses politics and parties in concrete terms of the present, yet always in the light of French history and French temperament. We are assured that the really important thing to understand is the ingrained individualism of the typical Frenchman. Indeed, the persistent determination to safeguard the individual is such an integral part of French life and politics that M. Siegfried thinks it is the one thing France will never deny.

As for the economic basis of life, modern France, still close to its mediaeval past, cherishes the spirit of the craftsman, of individual devotion to work well done, of unswerving allegiance to owning and tilling the soil. In spite of the growing importance in the world of quantity production and of the subordination of the individual to group or machine, the French people have not been interested in remaking themselves to fit the times. Thus they have lost for their country its position of leadership. But Monsieur Siegfried asks, perhaps a little wistfully: "Is there possibly a corner in this modern world for France, born of individuality and the revolution? The problem is almost tragic for what is really at stake is the French personality and the original character of a civilization."

ELIZABETH WEBB

More Nails in the War Guilt Coffin

Portrait of a Diplomatist. By Harold Nicolson. Houghton Mifflin. Price $5.00.

THE diplomatist is Lord Carnock who, as Sir Arthur Nicolson, was Permanent Under-Secretary of Foreign Affairs and advisor to Sir Edward Grey during the critical days of 1914. The editor of these memoirs is his son. Sir Arthur was more bellicose than his chief, feeling that "a military victory in the last resort was preferable to a national humiliation," while Sir Edward "considered that war was justified only by the fight for life and death." Yet the Permanent Under-Secretary was "incensed by the theory, which was even then (1917) being propagated, that Germany had provoked the war. . . . He was appalled by the Treaty of Versailles. Particularly did he resent the paragraph which obliged Germany by force to admit that she was solely responsible for the war."

Documentary proof is given that at the end of 1912 the British and French authorities were seriously contemplating the violation of Belgian neutrality in the event of war. In a letter to the British Minister in Brussels, Sir Arthur wrote: ". . . should we and France, for instance, be compelled to advance through Belgium for the purpose of repelling a German aggression in those quarters, whether we could count on Belgium receiving us as friends or enemies. . . . You see that the point is that we and France might have to move troops across the Belgian frontier. . . ."

On February 24, 1913, Sir Arthur wrote to Sir Edward that General Wilson upon returning from France had reported that

"the soldiers are of the opinion that it would be far better for France if a conflict were not too long postponed."

Those persons who are opposed to a revision of wartime theories about sole German guilt should see that a law is passed prohibiting the publication of memoirs by the Allied statesmen of those days.

K. P.

For Youth

So Youth May Know. By Roy E. Dickerson. Association Press. $2.00.

IN *So Youth May Know,* Roy E. Dickerson is much more at home in considering the positive phases of sexual phenomena—courtship, engagement, marriage, and problems of personal conduct—than in dealing with the negative or pathological phases of the sexual impulse such as venereal disease and prostitution. One wishes, therefore, that this latter discussion came much later in the book, being no less earnestly considered, but subordinate in position to the normal, natural side, and with a more emphatic statement of the causal sequence between prostitution and venereal disease.

Rather much unnecessary effort is expended in trying to bring the discussion of sex under the sanction of religion and to appeal to the emotions, in which latter case the author just escapes being sentimental. The chapters on petting and courtship and marriage give a full measure of sound advice in an honest, straightforward manner that will win the respect of young readers.

Despite certain faults, those who are dealing with youth and its problems will find this book helpful in putting a comprehensive discussion of sexual phenomena in a form available for young people of 'teen age.

PERCY L. CLARK, JR.

The Social Pioneer

Pioneering on Social Frontiers. By Graham Taylor. University of Chicago Press. $4.00.

IN spite of the great number of subjects dealt with by Dr. Graham Taylor in *Pioneering on Social Frontiers,* there is a wholeness which pervades this autobiography of his work, the wholeness of a personality, a city, and a period.

The book might have served as a better "Who's Who in Chicago" during more than a quarter of a century. It calls the roll of those who have been pioneers in building a better city. The chief references to the personal events of Dr. Taylor's own life are given in a modest way in the last few chapters. The body of the book deals with the clashes of racial groups and industrial organizations, and the building up of social institutions and movements which tend toward readjustment and better social life.

Principles and outcomes are united by Dr. Taylor in his story with an immense amount of detail, and this is nowhere better done than in his vivid and telling chapters on the Chicago Commons. Practical work in the Commons was never advocated simply for its own sake, but was made to represent a larger principle; and the larger principle never remained simply an abstraction, but was always applied to actual events. Theory may differ widely, but no one can resist the power of that force which inspires not only an individual but a family and a group to bring to their work the element of personal devotion. Religion to Graham Taylor, whatever else it may include, means the enlargement of the life of the individual until it unites with the social, economic, and spiritual forces of the community. This is the keynote of the book: "Letting the spiritual, unbidden and unconscious, grow up through the Commons."

JOHN L. ELLIOTT

WE RECOMMEND

Modern American Poetry, edited by Louis Untermeyer. Harcourt, Brace & Co. 850 pages. $3.50. The fourth revised edition of this critical anthology contains contributions from nearly two hundred different poets. Emily Dickinson and Robert Frost are each represented by about thirty poems.

The Philippines Past and Present, by Dean C. Worcester. Macmillan. 862 pages. $6.00. The first edition appeared in two volumes in 1914. The work has now been brought up to date by Professor Ralston Hayden and a biographical sketch added. Herein will be found an able statement of the case for the indefinite retention of the Islands by the United States.

The National Income and Its Purchasing Power, by Wilford I. King. National Bureau of Economic Research. 394 pages. $5.00. In all probability no study of the distribution of national income, and the multitude of social and economic matters connected with it, has ever been so thoroughly carried out, utilized so much research, and been so painstakingly scrutinized by a corps of experts for inaccuracies. It is one fine guide to what is good and bad about our economic life.

The Social Work of the Churches, a Handbook of Information, edited by F. Ernest Johnson. Federal Council of Churches. 244 pages. Paper, $1.00; cloth, $1.25. Here, presented with Dr. Johnson's characteristic thoroughness and balance, are trustworthy summaries of what the churches—or, perhaps, the best of the churches—are doing and saying with regard to human relations. Especially valuable because hard to obtain elsewhere, are the resolutions by ecclesiastical bodies about war, labor, social insurance, race relations, etc. There is a splendid bibliography.

The Black Christ and Other Poems, by Countee Cullen. Harper. 110 pages. $2.00. Despite a tendency at times to lapse into trivial and jarring banalities of speech, Countee Cullen in these latest verses indicates the reserve power he is piling up and to which we may safely look for future contributions of beauty and vigor. Besides, he grows; grows in his depth of personal thought, and in the mastery of his technique. The long title poem is at once biting and pathetic, and must be food for deep and bitter thought to the people of "White America," to whom it is "hopefully dedicated."

British Opinion and the American Revolution, by Dora Mae Clark. Yale University Press. 308 pages. $3.00. The "tyrant" theory of the American Revolution, as propounded by the Declaration of Independence, is rapidly passing—despite such patriots as "Bill the Builder" Thompson and the Hearst school of historians. Here is a fresh approach to the problem, a study of the contemporary newspapers, pamphlet literature, books, parliamentary speeches, etc., to ascertain British public opinion in the 1770's. The story thus becomes rather familiar. On the one hand are the imperialists growing "empire conscious" and eager to have bigger and better colonies. On the other hand are the merchant classes and the radicals (not always distinguishable, as the case of Burke shows) who are losing heavily by colonial resistance. It was within this latter group that the ringing statements of American rights were loudly proclaimed.

Unemployment Insurance in Germany, by Mollie Ray Carroll. Brookings Institution. 137 pages. $2.00. A technical study of a problem which ought to concern the government and industry in this country. Europe's successes and failures in matters such as these deserve much attention.

Trailing the Conquistadores, by Samuel Guy Inman. Friendship Press. 236 pages. $1.00. Illuminating insights into the history and contemporary life of the Caribbean countries is given by a highly competent observer.

Some Spanish-American Poets, translated by Alice Stone Blackwell. Appleton & Co. 559 pages. $3.00. Practically all of the South and Central American countries are represented by selections from well known poets. Each verse is printed in Spanish and English on parallel pages. This is perhaps the most comprehensive anthology of its kind yet assembled.

Civic Attitudes in American School Textbooks, by Bessie Louise Pierce. University of Chicago Press. 297 pages. $3.00. A scientific analysis of the contents of 97 histories, 67 books in civic, sociological and economic problems, 45 geographies and 109 readers. The technique by which blind and bigoted nationalists are manufactured is herein set forth. Rapid progress is now being made in changing the attitudes of textbooks but the evidence here assembled shows how far we have yet to travel.

CORRESPONDENCE

Children Cry For It

WE have had THE WORLD TOMORROW for a number of years but simply didn't have the money for renewal. Now one of the children is coming to the rescue — says it is the best magazine we take, and that "you can always find a worthwhile current event which no one else at school has." I think we all admire your courage and straightforward attitude more than you know; and when one has children, one is deeply grateful for one paper that isn't stereotyped in its attitude.

Rockford, Ill. (Mrs.) IDA DEWEY JOHNS

We Like It Too

I LIKE THE WORLD TOMORROW. The editors and contributors take pains to turn out material which compares favorably with that contained in any other magazine of the same class in America and abroad. I think I see more and more a tough-minded grip with the world, and a willingness to take an advanced position on behalf of the underdog. More power to you!

New York City NATHAN FINE

A Satisfied Customer

I AM very happy to send for extra copies of the current number of THE WORLD TOMORROW for two reasons. One is that I value your magazine far above all others I have ever read (except possibly one religious journal); it is a great inspiration to me and more, a source of strength in a world where I find no others in sympathy with my radical and idealistic views. Second, this number is one of the many particularly good ones. I was an unwavering and absolute pacifist throughout the war, and to all such this sort of reading must come as welcome news. I wonder sometimes that you do not advertise in some manner. More people should know about THE WORLD TOMORROW. I am glad to do what I can in this way.

Pittsburgh, Pa. MRS. AGNES G. KING

A Liberal Education

YOU will notice that I have changed my address. Methodist preachers have that prerogative, you know. . . . I wish to have my subscription started again. I have been on a year's leave of absence and had to drop the paper while I was traveling. If I were not reading your magazine, I would go dead above my ears. It is a liberal education in itself. I wish you Godspeed in the growth of the circulation.

Glassport, Pa. CLYDE L. NEVINS

ANNOUNCEMENTS

Study Pilgrimage to Europe

UNDER the leadership of Sherwood Eddy the eleventh annual Study Pilgrimage to Europe will be made during the summer of 1931. The group, which will be limited to persons who are willing and able to make a penetrating study of the situation abroad and to use their experience widely in public speaking and writing, will sail from New York on the *Berengaria,* Sunday, June 21. The itinerary will include London, Berlin, Moscow, Warsaw, Vienna, Rome, Geneva, and Paris, bringing the travelers back to New York by September 4. Applications for membership in the group should be made early. Address all communications to Sherwood Eddy, 347 Madison Avenue, New York City.

Seminar in the Caribbean

UNDER the auspices of the Committee on Cultural Relations with Latin America, the first annual session of the Seminar in the Caribbean will be held February 14th to March 4th, 1931. The purpose of this seminar is to make a coöperative study of the life and culture of the Caribbean peoples and of their relations with the United States. Among the lecturers and leaders whose aid has been enlisted are Dr. Ernest Gruening, Dr. E. C. Lindeman, Dr. Leland Jenks, Dr. Samuel Guy Inman, Mr. Charles Thomson and Mr. Carleton Beals. Dr. Fernando Ortiz of Cuba, Dr. Moises Saenz of Mexico and other distinguished Latin Americans are expected to participate in some of the sessions. Members of this seminar will sail from New York on the S.S. Caledonia, February 14, 1931. Visits will be made to San Juan, Porto Rico; Santo Domingo; Colon, Canal Zone; Kingston, Jamaica; Port-au-Prince and Havana. Applications for membership and requests for further information should be addressed to Hubert C. Herring, 112 East 19th Street, New York City.

Scattered Seeds

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The Last Page

NO nation is more bewildered at its present state than England. It is the popular indoor sport to speculate on what is the matter with the country. And the answer is so simple! The trouble with England is that it is custom made. Constructed to one measurement, it can no more be altered to fit a new situation than a stone hitching post can be bent into a balloon tire.

The British have just dined Einstein, but they mean nothing by it. They venerate the man, but they have no stomach for relativity. The average Briton is like nothing so much as a certain professor I once knew in the States, whose house caught on fire and was being saved by firemen through desperate emergency measures. While the rescuers dashed madly in and out of the door, bearing fire-fighting implements and paraphernalia, the pedagogue was walking with stately care up to the house, painstakingly wiping his shoes on the porch rug, entering and removing small *objets d'art* of sentimental interest.

There is no other land like England.

England: where red tape is sold by the bundle in the stationery shops. England: where you see in mid-afternoon or early evening, riding in the underground (our subway) large squads of gentlemen in top hats and formal attire. England: where houses are numbered so chaotically (because they have always been numbered that way) that two odd numbers may be on opposite sides of a street, and where number five may as likely as not be directly across from number thirty-seven.

* * * * *

ENGLAND: where all men are "Gentlemen" according to certain signs at railway stations, but where gentlemen are counted as merely a favored few if you trust to the columns of the snooty papers, the traditions of the country, or the speeches of clubmen. England: where, outside of a few high-priced and hifalutin restaurants, napkins are unknown, but where, however, one popular chain of eating places has inaugurated the rent of "serviettes" at one penny each. England: where cloistered away in its galleries and museums is some of the finest art in the world, and where, in a thousand shop windows, you will see not one single piece of artistic or beautiful jewelry, handicraft, or ceramic ware of native manufacture. England: where to ask for drinking water at breakfast or luncheon will, in many places, evoke stares of utter incredulity. England: where it takes so long to get served that restaurant patrons do invariably one of two things—either read several chapters in their favorite novel, or stare boldly and at persistent length at their neighbors. England: where nine out of ten restaurants exist without pegs whereon to hang a hat and coat, unless said pegs are located directly above the center of a sidewall table entirely out of reach and useless; and where the tenth place with hooks and pegs has enough to care for about twenty per cent of its customers. England: where, with the greatest of daring, a handful of restaurants are offering waffles as an exciting innovation, and where, since these pioneering establishments are each equipped with one small waffle-iron, it takes an hour to serve a party of six. England: where it is possible to purchase an "American soda water" which is fully as authentic as Russian ballet performed by Patagonians. England: where railroad men never announce stations, leaving it all to your guesswork, which is not helped by the fact that an enterprising beef-extract firm has seized the most prominent places to recommend the consumption of BOVRIL, thus causing many a foreigner, as testified to by a Finnish friend and several others, to wonder why so many British towns should bear the selfsame designation. England: where instead of waiting for your turn in the dining car by wearisome minutes standing in the line, as is often the system in "efficient" America, you are assured of a seat, no matter how great the rush, by accepting the proper ticket from the attendant who comes through the train.

* * * * *

ENGLAND: where dignity and personal detachment are not to be intruded upon, so that even at conferences of pacifists men never double up on accommodations and share rooms with each other. England: where Rolls-Royces are produced; and where, in the rush of traffic at Piccadilly Circus, you may escape the perils of speeding buses or encompassing trucks, but will do well to keep from being run down by the multitudes of lamp-lit bicycles weaving through the murk. England: where political corruption is practically unknown, where there is a law against Ministers holding directorships that in America would oust our Mellons and Hoovers and Daweses from political life; where, so sensitive are politicians, that a Labor Junior Lord of the Treasury who is also an *unpaid* director of the National Co-operative Publishing Society has resigned his treasury post and abandoned a salary of $2,500 a year, retiring to his M.P.'s wage of $2,000 rather than expose his Party to the suspicion of criticism.

England: where so sacred are churchly rites that a murderer was denied burial in "consecrated" ground, and his funeral service withheld until at the last moment his body was removed to an old shed apart from holy soil, whereupon, finally, an unofficial service was read—thus vindicating something or other which your assiduous Eccentricus has not been able to ascertain. England: where even the hardy laboring classes are safeguarded by a stern film censorship over their own screen importations, and where the Russian agricultural picture called "Soil" in the States is listed, more delicately, "Earth". England: where there was a great to-do when the Labor Cabinet opened up a lake in Hyde Park to afford the masses an opportunity for so dreadful an innovation as "mixed bathing"; where the Lord Chamberlain barred from the stage "The Green Pastures"; and where, after much travail, it has finally been decided to allow athletic girls to take part in public contests wearing sleeves one inch in length in place of the former half-elbow sleeves.

* * * * *

ENGLAND: where the guards of St. James Palace always have worn greatcoats in late October, and where, therefore, greatcoats were worn on a day as warm as midsummer, causing the collapse of three Coldstream Guards. England: where Parliament opens on a Tuesday because, in 1809, William Wilberforce objected to its opening on Monday on the ground that distant members, at the then existing rate of transport, would be compelled to desecrate the Sabbath by Sunday travel. England: where smokers may light up in hotel dining-rooms after eight P.M. as much as they like, but not at all before; where you may purchase a tart at a pastry shop after six P.M. of a Sunday if you are going to eat it on the premises, but not if you intend to carry it away; where, in some places, city councils have used *agents provocateurs* to trap unregenerate grocers into selling such wicked and anti-social articles as jellied chicken later than eight P.M.

* * * * *

ENGLAND: where automobiles turn to the left instead of to the right because, years and years ago, when horseback locomotion was the prevailing mode of travel, it was desirable in passing on the highway to keep the sword arm free for action. England: where, in the Royal Galleries leading through the Houses of Parliament to the House of Lords, a window was broken and a painting damaged during the War by a shell; and where the broken pane and marred picture are still left as grim reminders, notwithstanding the fact that the shell which did the damage came from no German Zeppelin but from a British anti-aircraft gun. England: where the Speaker enters the House of Commons preceded by a dignified parade at which visitors must doff their hats and which is rendered portentous by the elaborate repeated bows of a long line of party whips and various other functionaries.

* * * * *

I SEE that Mr. Hoover has solved the unemployment problem by appointing a committee. I do hope it has no fewer than six million members.

* * * * *

ALL these years I have never revealed why I sign myself so bluntly. You all know, of course, that a British Lord never uses such a vulgar thing as a first name. Mr. Arthur Ponsonby, of course, though he is doubtless as good a fellow as before, is merely "Ponsonby". Well, my readers may draw their own conclusions. Cheerio! I sign myself, in simple dignity,

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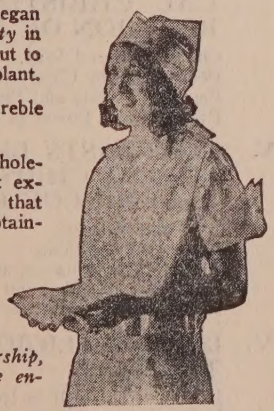

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